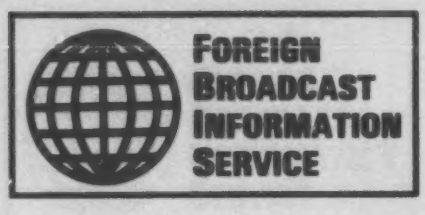

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-047
Monday
13 March 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-047 *13 March 1989*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

CSSR's Johanes Addresses Vienna Arms Talks *[Bratislava PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 1

ALBANIA

ATA Rebuts TANJUG Report on Alia Speech 4
French Government Delegation Visits for Talks 4
Arrives in Tirana *[ATA]* 4
Malile Receives France's Blot *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Cooperation Protocol Signed *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Foreign Trade Minister Korbeci Visits Austria 4
Trade Agreement Signed *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Korbeci Leaves for GDR *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Cultural Cooperation Program Signed With FRG *[ATA]* 5
Trade Delegation Returns From Vietnam 8 Mar *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Radio Reports Economic Progress for 5-11 Mar *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-10 Mar Noted *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Attends Writers Union Congress *[BTA]* 6
Zhivkov, Leaders Attend Women's Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Council of Ministers Discusses Food Shortage *[BTA]* 6
Dzhurov Order Issued on Liberation Anniversary *[NARODNA ARMIYA 3 Mar]* 7
Mladenov Returns From Vienna Talks 8 Mar *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Balev, Parliamentary Delegation Depart for Tehran *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Yugoslav Delegation Visits, Meets Kubadinski *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Delegation Ends Visit *[BTA]* 8
TRUD Discusses Morality of Restructuring *[Yanakiev, 2 Mar]* 8
'Millions' Wasted on Search for Offshore Oil *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 7 Mar]* 9
Central Committee Candidate Member Dies *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Chemical Company Established in Varna Oblast *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Proposal to Turkey on New Visa Regulations *[BTA]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Vienna Daily on Husak Stroke, Power Struggle *[Vienna NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG 11 Mar]* 11
USSR's Ligachev on Working Agricultural Visit 11
Interviewed in Prague *[Prague TV]* 11
Arrives in South Moravia *[Prague Radio]* 12
Visits Agricultural Facilities *[Prague Radio]* 12
Received by Jakes *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Mar]* 12
Seen Off by Lenart *[Prague Radio]* 13
Jakes, FRG Businessman Meet, Hold Talks *[CTK]* 13
Prime Minister Adamec Participates in Aktiv *[Prague Radio]* 13
Seminar on Cooperation With Czech Enterprises *[RUDE PRAVO 7 Mar]* 13
Disruption of Public Order in Slovakia Noted *[Bratislava PRAVDA 7 Mar]* 13
Federal Assembly Chambers To Meet 21-22 Mar *[Bratislava PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 14
Meeting Reveals Problems in Mochovce, Temelin *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Mar]* 14
CTK Cites Hungarian Daily on Danube Dam Project 14
Alleviating Impact of Gabcikovo Dam Discussed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 15
Direct Ostrava-Moscow Air Link To Open *[Bratislava PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Leipzig Spring Fair Opens; Leaders Arrive 16
Gorbachev Sends Greetings *[ADN]* 16
Talyzin Arrives in Leipzig *[ADN]* 16
Talyzin Praises USSR-GDR Ties *[ADN]* 16
Beil Praises Soviet Participation *[ADN]* 17
Beil Hosts Reception for Talyzin *[ADN]* 17
Stoph Hosts Dinner for Talyzin *[ADN]* 18
Honecker Receives FRG's Rau *[ADN]* 18
Rau Comments on Honecker Talks *[ADN]* 19
Honecker Meets Businessman *[ADN]* 20
Honecker Visits Iranian Pavilion *[Tehran IRNA]* 21
FRG Appeals to Honecker on Berlin Wall Incidents *[DPA]* 21
Honecker Expresses Regret *[DPA]* 21
3 Commit 'Violent Attack' on Border, 1 Injured *[ADN]* 22
Security Installation Destruction Protested *[ADN]* 22
Man Found Dead in W. Berlin After Balloon Flight *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Mar]* 22
Honecker Speaks on International Women's Day *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Mar]* 22

HUNGARY

National Assembly Continues Debate 9 Mar 25
Kulcsar Closing Address *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Poszgay Views Presidency, Parties *[MTI]* 30
Council To Draft Constitution *[MTI]* 31
Debate Resumes 10 Mar *[MTI]* 31
Interior Minister on Refugees *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Szuros Elected Assembly Speaker *[MTI]* 36
Labor Code Amendment Approved *[MTI]* 36
15 Mar Celebration Appeal Approved *[MTI]* 36
Committee Changes Adopted *[MTI]* 37
Session Ends Till 22 Mar *[MTI]* 37
Biography of New Assembly Speaker Matyas Szuros *[MTI]* 37
Central Committee Session Communique Released *[MTI]* 37
Central Committee's 'Action Program' Released *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Bomb Threat at Kaposvar Railroad Station Noted *[Budapest Radio]* 39
SZOT Official Discusses Visit to Warsaw *[NEPSZAVA 25 Feb]* 39

POLAND

Citizens' Committee Meets; Communique Issued *[Warsaw Radio]* 40
Poll Reveals Most Favor Solidarity Legalization *[PAP]* 40
Onyszkiewicz on Possible Supporter Backlash *[AFP]* 40
Briefing on Debate on Trade Union Pluralism *[PAP]* 41
Further on Pluralism Debate *[PAP]* 41
Ecology Team Holds Last Meeting, Signs Protocols *[PAP]* 42
Mass Media Subteam Holds Fourth Meeting 42
Solidarity Voices Concerns *[PAP]* 42
Opposition Paper To Publish *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
Progress Noted in Talks *[PAP]* 43
Team Members Comment on Talks *[PAP]* 43
Roundtable Subteam for Mining Meets 11 March *[PAP]* 44
Subteam for Health Meets; Debates Proposals *[PAP]* 44
Democratic Party Spokesman Speaks on Roundtable *[PAP]* 44
Party Daily Editor Views Roundtable Progress *[Majka in TRYBUNA LUDU 6 Mar]* 45
Some Postal Workers To Resume Work After Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 45
Lodz Cotton Plant Strike Suspended Till 30 Apr *[PAP]* 45
Interview With Emigre Leader in London Cited *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
Gerasimov Comments on Urban Katyn Statement *[PAP]* 46
Purported Threat To Dissolve University Condemned *[PAP]* 47

Jaruzelski Presents Medals to Worker Activists *[PAP]* 47
Jaruzelski Addresses Military Conference *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Feb]* 47
Rakowski Interviewed on Middle East Relations *[Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR 24 Feb]* 51
Rakowski Meets Writers Union Representatives *[PAP]* 52
Rakowski Meets With Radio, TV Journalists *[Warsaw Radio]* 52
Jaruzelski, Rakowski Meet U.S. Delegation *[Warsaw Radio]* 52
USSR's Aboymov Meets Czyrek, Kulski, Others *[PAP]* 52
Malinowski Views Japan Visit, Returns Home *[PAP]* 53
Grabowski Holds Cooperation Talks With PRC Envoy *[PAP]* 53
Olechowski Meets Iraqi Foreign Ministry Envoy *[Baghdad INA]* 53
Cypryniak Addresses Report-Back Meeting in Radom *[Warsaw Radio]* 54
New Society of Industrialists Registered *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Feb]* 54
New Polish-FRG Friendship Society Established *[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Feb]* 54
Kohl Comments on Economic Ties With Poland *[TRYBUNA LUDU 4-5 Mar]* 55
Glemp on Relations With Holy See, Roundtable *[SLOWO POWSZECHNE 24-25 Feb]* 56

ROMANIA

Daily Provides Commentaries on Vienna Meetings 57
'Dynamism' of CSCE 57
'Vital Importance' of Talks *[AGERPRES]* 58
Delegate Addresses UNCTAD on Protectionism *[AGERPRES]* 59

YUGOSLAVIA

Dizdarevic Trip Canceled Due to Situation *[TANJUG]* 60
Conditions Said Not Ripe for Full Israeli Ties *[Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ]* 60
Mikulic Speaks on Reform, Foreign Relations *[TANJUG]* 60
Suvar Chairs LCY Reform Commission in Kumrovec *[TANJUG]* 61
LCY Central Committee Presidium Meets 6-7 Mar *[TANJUG]* 61
Slovenia's Kucan Sends Letters to LC Leaders *[BORBA 24 Feb]* 62
Most Accept Invitation *[TANJUG]* 63
SFRY Assembly Adopts Budget Measures 9 Mar *[TANJUG]* 63
Tomsic Addresses Changing Political Situation *[Vienna PROFIL 6 Mar]* 65
Smole 'Not To Apologize' for Ljubljana Meeting *[Ljubljana Radio]* 66
Novi Sad Official Expelled from LCY *[TANJUG]* 66
Compulsory Work Orders for Kosovo Mines Issued *[TANJUG]* 67
Further Report *[TANJUG]* 67
TANJUG Updates 11 Mar Strike Situation 67
Mining Sector Still Lacks Personnel *[TANJUG]* 67
Absenteeism Reportedly Increases in Kosovo Mines *[TANJUG]* 67
Temporary Measures Introduced in Stari Trg Mines *[TANJUG]* 68
Few at Work 13 Mar *[TANJUG]* 68
Back-to-Work Orders Ready *[TANJUG]* 68
Ljipljan Assembly Implements Work Orders *[TANJUG]* 69
'Audacity' of Goles Strikers Criticized *[TANJUG]* 69
New Constitution Renders Serbia 'Equal' *[Radevic in POLITIKA 26 Feb]* 69
DELO Carries Open Letter to Milosevic, Dolanc *[TANJUG]* 71
Kosovo Electricity Board Replaces Director *[Zagreb Radio]* 71
Mikulic Offers Albania Human Rights Talks *[TANJUG]* 72
Criticism Reported From Albania's Ramiz Alia *[TANJUG]* 72
TANJUG Corrects Report 72
Belgrade Radio Commentary Denounces Alia *[Petrovic]* 73
'Untrue Assertions' About Albanian Officers *[TANJUG]* 74
Members of Albanian 'Hostile Group' Sentenced *[BORBA 24 Feb]* 74
LCY Secretary Receives Bulgaria's Radev *[BORBA 24 Feb]* 74
Preparations Under Way for Nonaligned Summit *[TANJUG]* 74
Pristina Radio Director Resigns in Protest *[RILINDJA 1 Mar]* 75

CSSR's Johanes Addresses Vienna Arms Talks

AU1003105689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
8 Mar 89 p 5

["From the speech" by CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes at the Vienna talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures, on 7 March]

[Text] **Vienna (CTK correspondent)—Yesterday [7 March] CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes addressed the Vienna talks on disarmament and military detente. He noted that the foreign ministers are meeting in Vienna for the second time in a short period, and continued:**

Only a few weeks ago here we successfully concluded the CSCE follow-up meeting, which created prerequisites for the all-European cooperation reaching a qualitatively new level. Today we are together beginning to implement the conclusions we adopted in the military-political and security spheres. To put it graphically—we are cutting the ribbon to inaugurate two main negotiating lines at the same time.

One of them aims at disarmament, and the other at greater trust. The two lanes of traffic on a one-way street, along which the all-European process proceeds, lead to the same common goal: to security and cooperation in Europe. We have a chance to reach agreements that may fundamentally influence the situation both in Europe and throughout the world.

Czechoslovakia has a literally vital interest in seeing this particular opportunity used. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, said a few days ago that we, for our part, "will do everything we can for the talks to yield positive results, which would bring about the strengthening of Europe's stability and security." In this we proceed from the dearly paid for experience of our modern history connected with the tragic events of 50 years ago, when our country—following the Munich betrayal—became one of the first victims of fascist despotism and violence. There must not be another war on our continent, and all the more so because under the present conditions this would lead to the end of civilization.

We all, without exception, are coresponsible for the further fate of Europe. It should forever remain the continent of peaceful cooperation, the mainstay of global stability, the source of positive changes in the international spectrum, and the place where a new quality of relations among states and nations is born.

Therefore, we are in favor of not burdening our dialogue with ideological differences, of no one foisting his convictions, his weltanschauung, upon others. That is why we are also working to eliminate the material means for waging war.

Further detente in the military sphere would contribute to solving the fundamental issue of the present: mankind's survival. This detente would open a new platform for cooperation among the European states. It would help us progress in building the common European home on firm foundations. However, this will only be possible when we achieve a balance of interests and respect the right of every nation to freely choose its own path of development.

Czechoslovakia contributed its share to the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting and is paying exceptional attention to the elaboration and implementation of its conclusions. This applies to all spheres, including the humanitarian dimension of the all-European process. We are convinced that it is necessary to conduct a serious and unbiased dialogue on issues linked to these problems, and to avoid one-sided, ungrounded accusations. Only this approach corresponds with the principles of the Helsinki process. Issues that may arise in connection with the implementation of the final document of the Vienna meeting in all participant countries must be resolved responsibly and in harmony with its provisions.

The favorable developments in international life—especially the improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States, between East and West, and the improvement of the international situation—presage constructive and successful work. Progress has been achieved in resolving some regional conflicts, and the danger of war has undoubtedly lessened.

The new political thinking, which is increasingly asserting itself in the contemporary world, yields genuine results in the effort for a peaceful restructuring of international relations. This is significantly assisted by the ongoing restructuring and democratization of all spheres of the life of society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, including the CSSR.

The treaty on the scrapping of two classes of nuclear weapons, in the realization of which—together with the signatories and other states—our country is also taking part, has initiated the process of genuine disarmament. Further fundamental steps are on the day's agenda, especially concluding as quickly as possible a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the number of strategic offensive weapons; winding up the work on an agreement banning and scrapping chemical weapons which this year's Paris conference called for; and halting nuclear tests. The disarmament process must be developed to such an extent as to include all mass-destruction weapons, as well as conventional weapons and armaments. The gradual removal of weapons, and not their stockpiling, leads to greater security.

The peace initiatives elaborated by M. Gorbachev from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly last year also point out the path toward new quality in international relations.

The important thing now is to make these positive trends irreversible; to overcome the streotypes of the old thinking; and to not compensate for the scrapped weapons by other means and by upgrading weapons systems.

Therefore, we consider the demilitarization of international relations to be one of the most urgent tasks of the present. Today solutions seem to be closer at hand and more realistic than was the case not so long ago. The talks that are beginning provide a unique opportunity to make progress along this path.

We are in favor of the talks of the 23 states being dynamic right from the start, of steering them along the shortest possible course toward a stable and secure parity of conventional armed forces and armaments on a substantially lower level in the broad stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals, from Spitsbergen to the Mediterranean.

Our endeavor is aimed at the reasonable defensive sufficiency of all participating states. In our opinion, the basis for this rests in gradual disarmament, in attaining predictability and openness in military issues, and in further extending and deepening the measures to strengthen trust. We should now transform these principles into concrete steps.

Proceeding in stages will make our task easier. We identify with the idea of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe in three stages, as USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze explained in his speech yesterday.

We also believe that attention must first focus on eliminating historically created asymmetries in the conventional potentials of the participant states. In this it will be necessary to take into consideration both quantitative and qualitative viewpoints. We attach special significance to reaching an agreement on equal joint ceilings in the strength of armed forces and armaments, particularly those types which the participants in the talks consider to be the most destabilizing. However, their enumeration cannot be narrowed down only to those in which one side has superiority. One must take into consideration not only tanks, artillery, or armored personnel carriers, but also tactical air forces, combat helicopters, as well as other means possessing great striking power. We consider ensuring parity in all stages of reduction and full mutuality to be the prerequisite for achieving a balanced agreement.

It is understandable that we will need figures from which to proceed. However, let us always keep in mind the lesson from the 15 years of fruitless talks on reducting the number of armed forces and armaments in central Europe: mathematics must never prevail over politics.

The Warsaw Pact member states have been displaying adequate openness, a matter which is attested to by the recent publication of details of their armed forces and armaments.

I also would like to recall the publication of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states in May 1987. We are convinced that a comparison and constructive assessment of the political doctrines of the two military-political groupings would help to eliminate mutual mistrust. It would make it easier to comprehend the intentions of the other side and would become a useful contribution to the successful course of the Vienna talks.

The mandate of the Vienna talks envisages the possibility of taking into consideration the specific nature of individual subregions. Our opinion is that the line of contact between the two military-political groupings deserves particular attention. It is here, above all, that it is especially necessary to reduce the amassed arsenals of conventional weapons—in other words, to build trust, not a potential for offensive actions.

We consider the ensuring of clearly defensive conventional armed forces, including respective changes in their structure and deployment, to be a highly urgent task. Changes in military structures will make it possible to markedly reduce and eliminate the danger of a surprise attack.

We are prepared to discuss establishing a comprehensive and effective system of verifying adherence to the adopted agreements, without the right to refuse to do so.

The seriousness of the Warsaw Pact member states' approach to the talks and the attempt to create a favorable atmosphere for them are attested to by the far-reaching steps toward the unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments, and especially by the magnanimous measures of the USSR.

With regard to Czechoslovakia, we will reduce the number of combat troops by 12,000, tanks by 850, armored personnel carriers by 165, and warplanes by 51. Twenty-thousand troops are being transferred to construction units, and we are reducing defense spending by 15 percent. For our country, these are not just symbolic figures. Other measures also stress the defensive orientation of our Armed Forces. There is no doubt that similar constructive steps on behalf of the NATO member states would also contribute to the success of our talks.

We can only achieve momentous results if all participants in the talks demonstrate political will. The meeting of the highest representatives of the signatory states of the CSCE Final Act, the convocation of which the CSSR fully supports, could provide an important impetus. We also consider the idea of convening foreign ministerial meetings every 6 months to be a useful one. Turning the means of war into the means of peace and finding a practical way of transforming military production into peacetime production should become the subject of our joint efforts. We in Czechoslovakia are intensively addressing this issue. An international exchange of experience resulting from the scrapping of weapons could also be useful.

Our country also approaches the other talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe by attempting to achieve significant progress.

We associate the expansion of the flow of information, openness, and predictability in the military sphere with the need to change the "hostile image" to a "partner image"—that is, by strengthening trust among states. The successful implementation of the Stockholm document convinces us that agreement is possible. We should further improve the measures adopted earlier and, above all, formulate a new generation of measures that would encompass the activity of all types of armed forces. It is understandable that in this context it is not possible to disregard important components of military potential in Europe, such as naval and air forces. We believe that in the future, no type of military activity by a state should remain outside the framework of agreed-upon measures. General stability and security demand that we apply new approaches, and that we move from partial steps in individual spheres to a broadly conceived policy of trust.

The establishment of a European center for reducing the danger of war and avoiding an unexpected attack could become an important step toward setting up the necessary structure of security and trust.

It is understandable that when strengthening stability in Europe, we cannot avoid the issue of tactical nuclear systems and plans to modernize them. They do not and never will make Europe a safer place. With the reduction of the level of armaments in the conventional sphere, the importance of these systems in the general European armament potential will increase considerably. We welcome the USSR's readiness to remove a part of its tactical nuclear systems from central Europe and hope that all NATO member states will realize what a serious step backward the modernization of this type of weapon would be for our continent. We in Czechoslovakia could not remain indifferent were there to be a substantial strengthening of the nuclear potential west of our border. We support the proposal to start separate talks as soon as possible on the reduction and complete scrapping of tactical weapons in Europe.

A concrete contribution of Czechoslovakia's to conventional disarmament and strengthening trust and security in Europe is its initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. We would like our proposal to become the subject of not only bilateral dialogue, but also of multilateral talks. The ideas of the initiative concerning the military sphere are directly connected with the content of the two new negotiation forums and are in full harmony with their agreed-upon objectives.

Thus, for example, a "dilution" of the contingents of troops in the proposed zone could be a part of the solutions to be adopted in Vienna. On the line of contact there should remain only the armed forces and armaments that would suffice for defense but which would make it impossible to launch a sudden attack or wage offensive operations.

We are also prepared to agree on qualitatively new measures to strengthen trust and security, including stricter limitations and a ban on some types of military activities, such as along the line of contact, especially in central Europe. We also propose a broader exchange of information, stricter controls, and the development of contacts between military representatives.

The security of our continent must be based on close cooperation among states in all spheres of the Helsinki process. We are convinced that productive talks and results will be favorably projected into the further development of all-European cooperation. Thus, let us begin to breathe life into the hope of all preceding generations and ensure firm and lasting peace for ourselves and our children. This is a goal worthy of all our efforts, all our skills and diplomatic talent.

In conclusion, I would like to thank our Austrian hosts for creating good conditions for the work of the two important negotiating forums, and I wish us all much success in our common task.

ATA Rebuts TANJUG Report on Alia Speech

AU1203144789 Tirana ATA in English 1105 GMT 12 Mar 89

["ATA Elucidation"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 12—The Yugoslav news agency TANJUG broadcast a material on March 11 which says allegedly "Ramiz Alia, head of state and of the Party of Labour of Albania, in a comprehensive speech delivered at the meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and quoted by the national news agency, ATA," has treated of the topics of Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Ramiz Alia has made no speech at the meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania held in Tirana on March 10 this year, and ATA has not broadcast what is attributed to it by the Yugoslav news agency. The TANJUG report is an out-and-out invention.

At the above-mentioned meeting spoke the secretary of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Xhorxhi Robo, whose speech is also broadcast by our agency.

French Government Delegation Visits for Talks

Arrives in Tirana

AU0703123389 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA)—A government delegation of the French Republic, headed by Jacques Blot, director for Europe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived in our country on March 6, to take part in the proceedings of the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation.

At the airport, the French delegation was welcomed by the vice minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha; the head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andon Berxholi, and other comrades.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the PSR of Albania, Philippe Legrain.

On March 6, the meeting of the first session of the Albanian-French Joint Commission of Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation began its proceedings in Tirana.

For the Albanian side, the delegation is headed by the vice minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha, and for the French side by the director for Europe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jacques Blot.

Malile Receives France's Blot

AU0803201189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Jacques Blot, director for Europe at the French Foreign Ministry, who heads the French delegation at the meeting of the first session of the Joint Albanian-French Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation.

During their meeting, Reiz Malile and Jacques Blot reviewed the progress in the existing friendly relations between Albania and France, the development of cooperation in various fields of mutual interest, and certain aspects of the present situation in the Balkans and Europe.

The meeting was also attended by Philippe Legrain, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

AU0903200889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] A protocol was signed today in Tirana, on the the first session of the Joint Albanian-French Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation. The protocol was signed for Albania by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Kostandin Hoxha and for France by Jacques Blot, director for Europe at the French Foreign Ministry. The signing ceremony was attended by Andon Berxholi, directorate chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and members of the two delegations. Philippe Legrain, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana, was also present.

The protocol envisages cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of mineral extraction and processing, the engineering and electronic industries, agriculture, the food industry, and so forth.

The government delegation of the French Republic, led by Jacques Blot, left our country today. The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Kostandin Hoxha and Andon Berxholi, directorate chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Philippe Legrain, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana, was also present.

Foreign Trade Minister Korbeci Visits Austria

Trade Agreement Signed

AU0903200989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] A protocol on 1989 trade was signed in Vienna on 9 March between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Austria. The protocol was signed for Albania by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci and for Austria by Federal Minister of the Economy Robert Graf.

Albania will export to Austria various minerals, copper wire and cable, refractory bricks, ferrochrome, fresh and preserved agricultural products, handicraft goods, carpets, medicinal herbs, and so forth. Austria will export to Albania special steels, chemical products, paper and cardboard, machinery, and equipment.

The signing ceremony was attended by Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Vienna.

Korbeci Leaves for GDR

AU1203202189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has left Austria for the GDR, where he will take part in the Leipzig International Spring Fair at the invitation of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Trade.

During his stay in Austria, Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, was received at separate meetings by Dr Rudolf Streicher, minister of transport; Dr Josef Riegler, minister of agriculture; Dr Stumvoll, secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance; and by Engineer Sallinger, president of the Chamber of Commerce. On these occasions, there were talks on the opportunities and paths for further development of trade exchanges between our two countries. Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Vienna, also took part in these meetings, which were held in a friendly atmosphere.

Cultural Cooperation Program Signed With FRG

AU1203144189 Tirana ATA in English 1101 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—The program on cultural cooperation between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the FR of Germany for 1989-1991, was signed in Bonn these days.

The program was signed for the Government of the PSR of Albania by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, and for the Government of the FR of Germany it was signed by the vice director of culture at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the FR of Germany, Dr Lothar Wittmann.

The program foresees exchanges in the field of culture and art, cooperation between universities and scientific institutions of the two countries, and between mass media and sports exchanges.

Trade Delegation Returns From Vietnam 8 Mar

AU0803200989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] The government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Vietnam, led by Minister of Construction Ismail Ahmeti, today returned from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The delegation was welcomed back at the Rinas Airport by Fa[illegible]din Hoxha, minister attached to the Council of Ministers; Bashkim Dino, directorate chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other comrades.

Le Ngoc Thanh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Tirana, was also present.

Radio Reports Economic Progress for 5-11 Mar

AU1103170289

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 5-11 March carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Permet District: The overall 2-month industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 400,000 leks. (1900 GMT 6 Mar 89)

Sarande District: The 2-month industrial production plan has been exceeded by 1.5 million leks. (1900 GMT 5 Mar 89)

Vlore District: The export plan for the 2-month period has been overfulfilled by 200,000 leks. (1900 GMT 5 Mar 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-10 Mar Noted

AU1003172189

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 4-10 March reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP CC (Albanian Workers Party Central Committee) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, attended on 10 March a meeting of the general council of the Democratic Front of Albania, in Tirana. (1430 GMT 10 Mar 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 7 March activities held in Durres in connection with International Women's Day and Teachers Day. (1900 GMT 7 Mar 89)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended on 6 MARCh a national conference of distinguished teachers in Rreshen, Mirdite District. (1900 GMT 6 Mar 89)

Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 8 March a meeting held in Tirana on the occasion of International Women's Day. (1900 GMT 8 Mar 89)

Pali Miska, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of agriculture, attended on 7 March a meeting of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions in Tirana. (1900 GMT 7 Mar 89)

Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended on 4 March the inauguration of a rural aqueduct in Librazhd District. (1900 GMT 4 Mar 89)

Zhivkov Attends Writers Union Congress

AU0903195289 Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—In the presence of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, was opened the Sixth Congress of the Bulgarian Writers. Almost one quarter of the four hundred members of the union asked to speak after the introductory speech of poet Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers.

The theme of the report was: Restructuring and Literature. The speaker called the congress "a threshold between two epochs" although he also stressed the democratic traditions of the writers' organizations in its 75-year history. Lyubomir Levchev included the April literary discussions held every year in the positive balance of the union's activity. At them a review is made of what has been achieved in the different genres, important social and creative problems are viewed. "The April discussions were as free as we are ourselves", said Levchev who chairs the union since 1980. The discussions with their ten year history are a guarantee against monopolism on the assessment of literary facts, said he.

Mr. Lyubomir Levchev spoke about the question of the artistic method of socialist realism. "Socialist realism is undergoing a hard, even fatal crisis," said he. He recalled that it has been discredited by weak artistic, dogmatic and sectarian works, but it has been defended by a number of talented works, and called upon his colleagues not to hurry with the final assessment of the method.

Mr. Lyubomir Levchev spoke of his understanding of writers' unity. The new thinking requires a new vision of unity. The greater number of opinions will be the treasure and quality of our creative unity, pointed out Levchev standing against the "unnecessary prejudice about unity at any price".

Mr Lyubomir Levchev stressed once again the identity in principle of the aims of restructuring in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. He said, however, that: We will repeat once again that in the spirit of the new thinking we are adversaries of all kinds of mechanical, thoughtless or on the contrary biased imposed historical imitation, copying and inplanting of problems and decisions which are not inherent to our own. Behind such historical plagiarism mediocrity is easy to hide, the chairman of the union said.

Mr Lyubomir Levchev also spoke of the importance to convene in Sofia international writers' meetings under the slogan "Peace: The Hope of the Planet." Some 875 writers from 78 countries have participated in the six meetings which were already held.

The writers' congress discusses also a project for a new statute of the organization. The statements posed requirements for democratization of the organization for which one of the speakers said that it resembled a ministry.

Among the participants in the lively discussions were Anton Donchev, Borislav Gerontiev, Nikolay Khaytov, Mikhail Velichkov, Blaga Dimitrova, Stefan Prodev, Atanas Nakovski, Georgi Mishev, Chavdar Dobrev, etc.

Some of the topics which were discussed are: the civic behaviour of the writer, the openness and the need of pluralism of the opinions, the protective functions of the writers' organization, the actual participation of writers in restructuring, ecology, etc.

The congress is continuing tomorrow.

Zhivkov, Leaders Attend Women's Meeting

AU0703193289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Excerpt] International Women's Day, 8 March, was festively marked on 7 March at the People's Opera in Sofia. Many Bulgarian women—party veterans, members of the women's movement, Heroes of Socialist Labor, noted public figures, and figures from the fields of science, culture, education, and sports—attended the traditional meeting. The participants greeted with prolonged applause Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who attended the event. Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Petur Dyulgerov also attended the meeting. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Discusses Food Shortage

AU1003195589 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The chiefs of departments in charge of the home market supply attended a conference at the Council of Ministers. They discussed the availability of consumer goods.

The production of commodities earmarked for the home market rose 11.9 per cent in January and February 1989 over the like period last year. Still, the supply of the market is lagging behind the population's increased solvent demand and the actual capabilities of the national economy.

The checks that have been made showed that even though they have the necessary resources, a number of economic organizations have not tried hard enough to meet their targets for the production of home market goods.

A strong criticism was levelled at the managements of the consumer goods manufacturing associations and at the local authorities responsible for the condition of the

internal market. They were censured for the indiscipline, sluggishness and procrastination displayed in contracting consumer goods for the home market.

The Council of Ministers adopted a number of specific measures for the improvement of home market supply, including an increased import of consumer goods.

With a view to encouraging the production of vital farm commodities, the Council of Ministers decided to raise the purchasing prices of a number of agricultural products.

The Bulgarian National Bank was assigned to enforce strictly the sanctions laid down for economic organizations which fail to fulfil their obligations to the internal market.

Dzhurov Order Issued on Liberation Anniversary

AU0603134489 Sofia NARODNA ARMIY in Bulgarian 3 Mar 89 p 1

["Order of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on 3 March—the 111th anniversary of the liberation from the Turkish yoke]

[Text] Comrade officers, generals, and admirals,
Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers;
Comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and employees of the military enterprises and offices;
Soldiers of the reserve forces;

We mark the 111th anniversary of the liberation from the Ottoman yoke.

The struggle for this liberation was difficult and long. It already began with the invasion of our soil by the Ottoman hordes, and continued throughout the struggle of the armed freedom fighters in the rebellious Balkans, and the heroism and self-sacrifice of the heroes of our national liberation movement—Rakovski, Karavelov, Levski, and Botev. It was illuminated by the sacrificial flames of the April 1876 insurrection, and culminated with the 1877-1878 Russian-Turkish war of Liberation, which ended with the 3 March victory and brought Bulgaria freedom and national independence.

The blood jointly shed in the fields by the Russian and Bulgarian fighters forever cemented the Bulgarian-Russian friendship and gave rise to our people's love for and boundless faith in the liberating brothers. This love and friendship acquired even greater power during the years of socialist construction in our country.

We shall never forget the Russian soldiers' heroism and countless sacrifices. Their acts of heroism at Svishtov, Stara and Nova Zagora, Shipka, Pleven, Sheynovo, and Sofia will forever glow in our people's memory.

Grateful Bulgaria will always cherish the bright memory of the Russian soldiers and will decorate with flowers the hundreds of memorials that have immortalized their glorious sacrifice.

The Bulgarian people and their Armed Forces greet 3 March with new successes in constructing and defending socialism. Implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the consequent plenums and BCP National Conference, our people are making a worthy contribution to strengthening the process of restructuring and turning our country into a highly developed socialist state.

The personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army are tirelessly working to increase their combat skills and raise to a new level the troops' combat readiness and the country's defensive capability.

Implementing the tasks that spring from the Decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Unilaterally Reducing the Armed Forces and the Declaration of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact member states, our soldiers and commanders simultaneously clearly understand that the threat of war has not been finally eliminated. Therefore, together with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member states, led by the invincible USSR Armed Forces, they are always ready to decisively repel every aggressor.

Comrade soldiers, commanders, workers and employees, and soldiers of the reserve forces,
I greet you most cordially on 3 March—the Day of Bulgarian Liberation From the Ottoman Yoke.
I wish you and your families good health, happiness, and new successes in your highly noble and responsible activity for constructing and defending our socialist motherland.
To mark the 111th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman yoke

I Order:

A festive tattoo to be conducted in our capital, Sofia, on 3 March 1989, and festive illuminations are to take place in the oblast centers and the cities of Sliven, Stara Zagora, Pleven, and Svishtov.
Deep respect for the heroism and self-sacrifice of the glorious sons of Russia, the Bulgarian freedom fighters, the Romanian and Finnish soldiers, and all those who took part in the liberation of Bulgaria from the 500-year Ottoman yoke!
Eternal glory to their memory!
Let vital Bulgarian-Soviet friendship strengthen and blossom!
Let our dear motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria—live throughout the centuries
Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

Mladenov Returns From Vienna Talks 8 Mar
AU0803195489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, returned on 8 March from Vienna, where he took part in the talks on reducing armed troops and conventional weapons and on measures for strengthening confidence and security in Europe.

Balev, Parliamentary Delegation Depart for Tehran
AU1103180889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] A National Assembly delegation led by Comrade Milko Balev, member of the State Council, departed today on an official visit to Tehran, at the invitation of the Islamic Consultative Assembly—the parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The visit is taking place within the framework of the regular high-level contacts between the two countries, and in return for the visit to Bulgaria by an Islamic parliamentary delegation in November 1987.

Yugoslav Delegation Visits, Meets Kubadinski
AU0603111089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] An SAWPY delegation from Yugoslavia, headed by Nenad Bucin, member of the SAWPY Presidium, is currently visiting our country at the invitation of the Fatherland Front. The delegation was received by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. Information was exchanged on the organizational structures and activities of the two organizations.

Pencho Kubadinski briefed the guests on the restructuring process which is now under way in all spheres of our country's life. He particulary stressed the tasks of the largest political mass organization in our country dealing with the organization of socialist competition today.

Nenad Bucin described the activities of SAWPY under present-day conditions in Yugoslavia. Opinions were also exchanged on bilateral cooperation between the two organizations.

Delegation Ends Visit
AU1003075489 Sofia BTA in English 2152 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Bulgaria, Yugoslavia: For More Active Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—At the invitation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front this country was visited by a delegation of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia headed by Mr Nenad Bucin, member of the Presidency of the alliance.

The delegation had talks with a delegation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front headed by Mr Georgi Petkov, secretary of the National Council. The exchange of opinions was in the spirit of the traditional friendly relations existing between the two organizations, expression of their desire to look for more efficient ways for the future cooperation. There is joint readiness to work for the enrichment of the cooperation by using the experience of the two organizations. Information was exchanged on the new tasks solved at present in Bulgaria and in Yugoslavia. The sides stressed the growing role of the two organizations in the political systems of their countries.

The delegation was received by Mr Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

TRUD Discusses Morality of Restructuring
AU0303180989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Iliya Yanakiev, an educator, under rubric "Personal Opinion": "Morality First and Foremost"]

[Excerpts] If one is called upon to define as concisely as possible the essence of the revolutionary restructuring taking place in the world of socialism today, it seems to me that the closest and most exact definition is its humanity, its love of mankind. Restructuring has been prompted by man's essential daily needs and is intended for man. Everything else only serves as a means, an approach, a road toward the goal.

That which is not good for man is no good for the state (or society), either. It has proved convenient and useful to conceal selfish interests behind common interests, and to propagate the arbitrary use of power in the name of the good of the state. [passage omitted]

We regard politics and morality as standing almost at opposite poles. I remember how startled I was by the assertions of a certain individual who was famous at one time: What does decency mean? I know that X is not a decent person, but he does serve us, while Y is a very decent fellow, but does not want to serve us.... By service, he meant that not everyone is willing to take part in actions which at that time we regarded as revolutionary, but which we now condemn. In that connection, certain slogans were bandied about, and sycophantic writers took them up and turned them into universal, all-embracing principles of morality.

Politics must be based on morality, and strengthen morality in society. This means we must state openly that some phenomena exist in social life and political relations that run counter to ancient moral criteria, and it is precisely this that is holding back society's economic, political, and social advance. It used to be thought that once we branded some aspect as offensive to socialist morality, this idea ceased to exist in real life. We did not talk about it, did not keep it in mind. In the

best event, we used to proclaim it to be "a remnant from the past." In this way, we gave it the chance to quietly corrupt society and undermine its foundations, rendering them meaningless.

We are now reorganizing ourselves on the principles of self-management, glasnost, and democratization. However, it usually takes a long time for widely proclaimed principles to take root in the organism of society. The old ideas that we reject will for a long time remain stronger than the new ones; they have their roots in personal advantage, in practical experience, in the standpoints that their supporters adopt. The new will be a wish, an ideal, a goal for which we will have to persistently fight, because the new lies not only in the concept and the postulate, in the structure and the mechanism; it lies most of all in the people, in their thinking and behavior. [passage omitted]

We sometimes forget that there are people, filled with hatred of humanity, who find pleasure in mocking others, in trampling on them and humiliating them. They hate everyone who is better than them in some respect. [passage omitted]

These people are especially frightening when they are in a greater or lesser position of authority. On the most tragic pages of mankind's history one finds examples of negative human types: Nero and Caligula, Genghis Khan and the Borgias, Hitler, Stalin and Beriya, and Pol Pot. They are surrounded by faceless people who voluntarily subjected themselves to their tyranny, serving them without question, either because of fear for their own skins or for personal advantage.

The more unlimited the power, the more frightening these people are. They are aware that they cannot rely upon public support, and for this reason detest every form of public opinion. They are unable to establish contact with people.

Officially, they talk and write about democracy, self-management, and glasnost, provided that that is the current line. However, they themselves, in the kingdoms they rule, establish an Arakcheyev-type regime, do not tolerate anything alien to or different from their own opinion, are convinced of their own rightness, and are used to imposing it by the power they hold. They do not respect the opinion of the specialist, the creative person, nor even of the worker—the man who knows his job.

They do not even consider themselves part of society. They are outside society. This is convenient and advantageous for them. They cannot do anything else. The idea of equality among people is abhorrent to them. They maintain a haughty attitude toward others, and their position serves to elevate them above the others.

These people inflict immense and irreparable harm on society and its aspirations, on power and the organized forces that exercise this power.

Confidence in the party can be deeply impaired as a result of an incorrect policy, or if the policy is correct, by unworthy leaders. PRAVDA (of 28 August 1988) states that "moral damage" was caused to the CPSU's authority by the illegal acts during the 30's, by the moral degradation of some of the cadres, and by the processes of stagnation in the 70's and the beginning of the 80's.

Hence arises our increasing attention to ethics and morality. Moreover, this is only possible in conditions of broad social control, glasnost, self-management, the responsibility of each person for everyone else—irrespective of his post and services—and the selection of leaders by democratic means, with the direct participation of the Communists and workers, who have the last word.

I think that this was discussed at the meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and intellectuals from the arts, science, culture, and education. What is more, the discussion was an instructive one....

'Millions' Wasted on Search for Offshore Oil

AU0803170889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Galina Pavlova, senior scientific fellow grade 2, from the Minerals Scientific Research Institute under the Committee for Geology: "Take Millions and Throw Them Into the Sea"]

[Excerpts] For more than 20 years, the waters of the Bulgarian Black Sea shelf have attracted the attention of geophysicists as a site for theoretical oil and gas fields.

Up to 1988, guided by their own hypotheses, the scientists carried out test probing of four projected structures: Nanevo P-1, Elizavetino P-1, Samotino-East P-1, and Samotino-Offshore P-1. I took a direct part in processing the materials obtained from three of the sites, namely Nanevo P-1, Samotino-East P-1, and Samotino-Offshore P-1.

It was established from the very first findings reached in studying the samples from the Nanevo P-1 site that there were fundamental deviations from the forecasts; the site was of no scientific interest in regard to either oil or gas. In undertaking the second probe, namely Samotino-East P-1, we had available a scientifically proved negative assessment of the site's oil- and gas-bearing structure. Nevertheless, the test probe was completed.

I took no part in processing the materials from the third marine site, Elizavetino P-1, but it is known that this probe also failed to justify expectations. Here too, no oil or gas was found. The samples from Samotino-Offshore P-1 were also negative. **Generally speaking, the effectiveness of offshore test probing is determined by the success factor. In the case of the above four sites, this factor is equal to zero.** [passage omitted]

I would like to add that, from the numerous test probes carried out on land in the Dolna Kamchiya region, even greater gas flowrates were recorded than those obtained at the Samotino-Offshore P-1 site. However, it was subsequently established that these inflows were coming from deposits that did not exceed 2 square kilometers in area, whose geological and economic indexes did not promise an economic return from their development. From the special research I carried out with my colleagues, we reached the conclusion that **the picture is similar in the Samotino zone of the shelf, namely that there is no data on industrially exploitable oil or gas fields within the zone.** We voiced these arguments at the conference that was held in Varna in October 1988 on the topic "Mineral and Recreational Resources of the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast."

The results of the investigations gave me full grounds to assert that the geologists have no right to encourage vain hopes of discovering profitable oil and gas fields off the coast. I set out my views on this issue in a memorandum to the chairman of the Committee on Geology, in which I stressed that **the actual findings do not bear out the projected findings, that is, the geological model of the shelf, created on the basis of 20 years of geophysical research, inspires no trust. This is why there is no point in talking about prospective finds in this region.** [passage omitted]

It is well-known from other countries' experience that a lot more funds are required to carry out all the activities connected with offshore probes than in adjacent regions on dry land. Making offshore test probes at water depths of 20-30 meters costs twice as much as on dry land, and at depths of up to 50 meters, which applied in our case, the cost is 3-4 times as great. This is why, according to world practice, it is not expedient to carry out research activities and development in connection with insignificant offshore oil and gas fields.

In other words, economics is the main factor in making a decision on the potential usefulness of a given test probing. This is why I am surprised by the intentions of the leadership of the Committee for Geology to sign a new contract to lease a Soviet oil-drilling platform. The leasing of the platform for making the first four test probes cost the state about R28 million. Accordingly, before starting the negotiations on signing a new agreement, one should calculate and take into account the expenditure required to extract the real reserves, as is done all over the world. [passage omitted]

According to archeological data, human civilization has existed in the Black Sea area for at least 5,000 years, and during the whole of this many-century period of human history the sea has preserved its purity. Coming generations will not forgive us the fact that during the last 20 years we, as human beings, have become the cause of turning our own Black Sea into a dead sea. In October 1988, PRAVDA reported that, of the 35 species of fish that used to inhabit its waters, only 14 remain.

None of us has any moral right to remain indifferent to this sad fact.

Central Committee Candidate Member Dies

AU0403190689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] After a prolonged serious illness, Lieutenant General of the Reserve Dimitur Dimitrov Popov, active fighter against fascism and capitalism and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, has died.

By his premature death, the BCP has lost a devoted son who dedicated the whole of his conscious life to the cause of socialism, states the obituary issued by the BCP Central Committee and the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism.

Respects to the mortal remains of Lt Gen Dimitur Popov will be paid at 1400 on Monday 6 March in the funeral hall of the Central Sofia Cemetery.

Chemical Company Established in Varna Oblast

AU0403143689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] "Polikhim Devnya"—this is the name of the first state company to be registered in Varna Oblast. The company includes 22 enterprises. Apart from the plants of the former Devnya Economic Trust, the company includes the Petur (Kraninchev) and Gavril Genov Technological Chemical Combines in Ruse and the [word indistinct] chemical plants. The company will manufacture goods this year valued at of 1,088 million leva.

Proposal to Turkey on New Visa Regulations

AU0703193389 Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—In this country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs today a document was handed to the Turkish ambassador in which a proposal is made to the Turkish side to review between March 15 to 20th in Sofia or in Ankara the visa agreements and the agreement for alleviation of the international transport of passengers and goods on highways, signed by the two countries' governments on July 11, 1979, with the aim to bring their action to the level of the present realities, characterizing relations between the two countries.

Vienna Daily on Husak Stroke, Power Struggle

AU1103163089 Vienna NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG in German 11 Mar 89 p 2

[Kurt Seinitz report: "Prague—Husak Had Stroke; Power Struggle"]

[Text] Prague, Vienna—In the CSSR, the difficult political situation is again totally uncertain: President Husak had a stroke 1 week ago! This is a state secret. Husak broke down 2 hours prior to a planned meeting with a Western foreign minister, according to sources close to Western delegations during the foreign ministers conference in Vienna. Husak's state is considered "very serious."

In Prague, a struggle for his succession has broken out. The reformists in the Politburo are again trying to hold their own. However, at the forthcoming Central Committee meeting, the conservatives will probably still be in the majority. They intend to give "their" Communist Party General Secretary Jakes the office of president. Using the proportional representation of nationalities as an argument, the reformists are trying to push through Slovak official Lenart as successor of Slovak President Husak. Party chief Jakes is Czech.

The power struggle which has been going on between the reformists and the conservatives in the CSSR leadership for over a year now, is considered the main reason for the extremely sharp measures taken against the opposition. The conservatives and their security apparatus are demonstratively flexing their muscles.

USSR's Ligachev on Working Agricultural Visit

Interviewed in Prague

LD1103204189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Interview with Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent, 11 March in Prague—recorded; interview conducted in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] Yegor Kuzmich in the course of your stay in our country you visited several Czechoslovak agricultural enterprises and cooperatives. How do you assess the level of agriculture in Czechoslovakia and what are the impressions you will be taking with you?

[Ligachev] I would like to say about all that that our delegation of responsible party and economic officials came to your country on the very eve of the plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee where party agricultural policy will be debated. On the basis of what we have seen and heard we highly appreciate the standard of management of the agricultural sector in friendly Czechoslovakia. The very fact that your agriculture and food industry are ensuring that Czechoslovakia is supplied totally and I would say even with interest with wide-ranging foodstuffs of high quality speaks for itself. This is an enormous success. This is in essence what we are striving to achieve. It is of social, economic, and political importance. Our stay in your country was not long but on the one hand this was not our first visit and on the other hand we received very detailed information and also what we saw left a deep impression in us. I have above all in mind the high yields achieved on Czechoslovak fields and the high productivity of livestock farms. This is the case of management on a intensive basis coupled with the reduction of costs. We saw how well the Czechoslovak farmer is equipped technically and how good his social guarantees are.

[Correspondent] Preparations are now going on in the Soviet Union for a very important plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee on agriculture. Could you characterize its main objectives?

[Ligachev] Indeed, a regular plenary session of the party's Central Committee will open in a few day's time which will discuss questions concerning our party's agricultural policy in the current conditions. We are studying very carefully experiences from our development and we are taking a careful note of the experiences of the management of the agricultural sector in the socialist countries. To put it briefly, the plenary session will set the basic guidelines and aims of agricultural policy as well as ways and methods of implementing it. If I were to put it in a nutshell we will be proceeding along the road of seriously restructuring economic relations in the countryside, which will be closely bounded up with scientific and technical progress and with the creation of a new system of the management of the food complex on a democratic basis.

[Correspondent] We in Czechoslovakia are following with great interest the policy of economic development in the Soviet Union. Tell us Yegor Kuzmich, how the process of restructuring is progressing in particular in connection with the election of the people's deputies of the Soviet Union?

[Ligachev] In connection with your question I would like to say a few words about something different. We believe that in the current stage of restructuring the central issue is the improvement of the style of party activity. We have now truly set about carrying out practical changes in terms of the fundamental changes of the style, methods, and forms of the work of our (?party). I would say that this is the key moment of restructuring in the present stage, for otherwise—since the party has already begun restructuring and is directing it—there can be no effective renewal and basis social changes. Deep changes have been taking place in our country, especially with regard to the democratization of inner party life, introduction of democratic foundations and abandoning directive and administrative methods of management. Restructuring the party apparatus is in progress. The

party apparatus has been greatly reduced and the eligibility of leading officials and their accountability of the public is being broadly introduced.

The second level is connected with the strengthening of the role of the Soviets. We have now set about in practice to implement a political reform. The aim of the elections now taking place in our country is to reorganize the highest organs of power. I tell you that the activity and interest of people is unprecedented. I believe that the elections will in the end lead to us having good and worthy composition both of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Greater openness coupled with the public being better informed have manifested themselved during the election process. There have been great many discussions in which views have clashed continuously, but this all is taking place in the interest of strengthening socialism, its renewal and ensuring that its character is more dynamic.

Arrives in South Moravia

LD1003112489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in the south Moravian region. Meeting him at the airport was Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of south Moravian regional party committee, and other representatives. The Soviet guest will visit Slusovice Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative and will get acquainted with the management of agricultural and food complex in Gottwaldov District. Yegor Ligachev is being accompanied by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Visits Agricultural Facilities

LD1003220289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, continued his working visit to Czechoslovakia today. In the late morning he visited the unified agriculture cooperative of the Slusovice Agrokombinat. Correspondent Jaroslav Hudec has more about it:

[Hudec] Comrade Yegor Ligachev was interested, above all, in the programs of the development of the Slusovice Agrokombinat: biotechnology, breeding of high utility cattle, and introducing electronics into agriculture production lines. He was also interested in the organizational structure, the regular system of assessing all cadres, and the system of motivation which leads members of the cooperative to become active and independent. Centralization in decisionmaking when fundamental things are being decided and strategic targets set, and decentralization in the production itself bring to this agricultural cooperative significant economic effects. Last year, the financial operation of the cooperative exceeded Kcs 5 billion and it gained Kcs 700 million and the productivity per one cooperative member reached almost Kcs 800,000. The significance of modern forms of management was also stressed by Comrade Ligachev:

[Begin Ligachev recording in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] We consider it the most important thing. The relations among economic relations, economic tools, and scientific and technological development; the creation of new progressive systems of management based on democratic principles—that is why it is very interesting for us. As far as the Slusovice Agrokombinat is concerned, I think it is dealing with all those things people in our world are dealing with. There are so many various impressions here that at the first sight a question appears: Why is all this done? Once we get to the core of the matter it becomes obvious that, after all, everything is subordinated to one thing, food production. Concentrated financial and material means are directed to what is needed for food production and what is effective. [end recording]

[Hudec] Comrade Ligachev also visited some cooperative departments: for example the (Transfer) enterprise for breeding horses and cattle. Up to now, it is the only work place in Czechoslovakia that deals on business bases with transplantation of frozen cattle embryos, including their export, and has been since 1986.

The discussion developed regarding food production and possibilities of obtaining hard currency for purchases of technical equipment and technologies. The Soviet guest praised help given by Slusovice farmers to their colleagues in the sister city of Gottwald in the Kharkov region where after 3 years of Slusovice experts' presence the yield of corn was increased in average from 2.9 tons per hectare to 4.5 tons per hectare. This year their cooperation with the car factory in Togliatti begins. They will begin to experimentally grow corn on 300 hectares; they will send the first cargoes of technical equipment, seed for sowing and preparations for plants care, at a value of R320,000.

Received by Jakes

AU1303123989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 1

["z"-signed article: "Milos Jakes Received Yegor Ligachev"]

[Text] In Prague on Friday [10 March], Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, received Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In the course of a comradely and friendly talk, they informed each other about the policies pursued by their two parties in the current period of restructuring and in

carrying out economic reform. They paid particular attention to the policy of management and organization in the agricultural and food complex.

Milos Jakes briefed his guest about the tasks the CPCZ is tackling, particularly those connected with the preparation of its 18th Congress in 1990.

Yegor Ligachev appreciated the fact that he had been given an opportunity to familiarize himself with the results achieved in agriculture and the food industry. He talked about the approaches to these questions adopted by the CPSU with which the coming plenary session of its Central Committee will concern itself.

The two representatives stressed the importance of having intensive contacts and all-round cooperation between the two fraternal parties and spoke in favor of their further development. Milos Jakes and Yegor Ligachev noted their full identity of views when assessing topical questions of the international situation.

The talk, which passed off in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Seen Off by Lenart

LD1103120289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today ended his working visit to Czechoslovakia and left for the Soviet Union.

He was seen off at Ruzyne airport in Prague by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the party Central Committee; and other representatives.

Jakes, FRG Businessman Meet, Hold Talks

LD0903235289 Prague CTK in English 2235 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—On Thursday, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Milos Jakes received the president of the West German "Hoelter" firm association board of directors Heinrich Hoelter.

They evaluated possibilities of economic cooperation, especially in the sphere of protection of the environment, the effective use of fuel sources, and the implementation of progressive technologies in production. They discussed also cooperation in production and relations between Czechoslovak enterprises and West German firms with regard to the prospect of creating an integrated market of the European communities' countries in 1992.

Prime Minister Adamec Participates in Aktiv

LD0903230189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Today, Federal Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec took part in an aktiv with the directors of state enterprises of metallurgy, engineering, and electronics. The aktiv was called on the subject of securing the tasks of the state plan this year. According to a federal government decision, aktivs on this subject will take place in all sectors in which there are state enterprises.

Seminar on Cooperation With Czech Enterprises

AU0903081589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 89 p 2

["jk"-signed article: "On New Possibilities of Production Cooperation; Not Only Joint Ventures"]

[Excerpts] Brno (our correspondent)—"New Possibilities of Direct Cooperation With Czechoslovak Enterprises" was the name of the seminar held on Monday [6 March], sponsored within the framework of the Brno specialized exhibitions by the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry for exhibitors from the nonsocialist states and their possible Czechoslovak partners. [passage omitted]

It emerged from the discussions that among the new forms of foreign trade activity are direct relations between state and cooperative enterprises, production cooperation and specialization, or joint ventures both within and outside the framework of CEMA. By the end of last year more than 170 of our organizations had applied for permits to conduct foreign trade activity. These were, in particular, production enterprises that have a wealth of experience in this sphere, and regarded the use of the services of foreign trade organizations as an unnecessary intermediary component. [passage omitted]

Joint ventures with foreign capital participation are becoming more and more frequent components of the Czechoslovak economy. However, the setting up of joint ventures will not be the decisive factor in the current restructuring. Up to now, the prevailing form is the shareholding company, in which the participation of individuals is not possible. The investments of the 17 enterprises founded thus far are mainly oriented toward the nonproduction sphere. [passage omitted]

Disruption of Public Order in Slovakia Noted

AU0803151389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Report From the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee Presidium Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] At yesterday's [6 March] meeting, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium discussed the public security situation in the

Slovak SR during 1988 and the main tasks for influencing it this year. It considered certain results in forestalling and curbing antisocial activity, particularly that it led to a further decline in the registered crime rate. More serious this year were the consequences of traffic accidents, which increased. The Presidium emphasized the necessity of increasing the responsibility of the economic sphere in the protection of property, of ascertaining and removing the causes and conditions for the occurrence of all negative phenomena, the results of which under the new economic conditions will, first and foremost, have a much greater effect on the enterprises and organizations themselves. The Presidium positively evaluated the fact that the attempts by certain individuals and groups to disrupt public order were frustrated and that they had met with rejection from the majority of our citizens. It expressed its complete support for the effort of security organs in guaranteeing the protection of legality and public order in society. [passages omitted]

It discussed the political-organizational arrangement of a CPSL Central Committee plenum which will take place in April of this year. On its agenda, will be a proposal for the convening of the CPSL Congress in 1990. The Presidium also discussed other organizational and cadre questions.

Federal Assembly Chambers To Meet 21-22 Mar

AU0903113889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Prior to a Joint Session of CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Text] Prague—The Presidiums of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly met in Prague yesterday. The meeting, which was presided over by Alois Hula, chairman of the People's Chamber, and Jan Janik, chairman of the Chamber of Nations, and attended by the chairmen of the chambers' committees, reviewed preparations for the 13th joint meeting of the two chambers and decided to convene it on 21 and 22 March 1989. At it, the deputies will discuss, among other things, a report by the CSSR minister of foreign affairs on fundamental foreign policy issues, the draft laws on Federal Assembly rules of procedure and on Federal Assembly deputies, legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium to protect public order, as well as government-sponsored bills seeking the CSSR Federal Assembly's approval of several international agreements. The chambers' Presidiums also discussed a report on the main findings from the processing of complaints, suggestions, and other letters addressed to the Federal Assembly in 1988 by citizens and organizations, a report on the implementation of tasks aimed at an improvement of principle in the care for people's health, and the Federal Assembly committees' standpoints on this report.

Meeting Reveals Problems in Mochovce, Temelin

AU0603181889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Control Day in Mochovce and Temelin"]

[Text] Temelin— On Wednesday [1 March] a control day of ministers and main participants in the construction of the Mochovce and Temelin nuclear power plants, was held on the grounds of the largest energy project, which is being built in the South Bohemian region. The working meeting was attended by Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, and by Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuel and power.

The construction of the Mochovce nuclear power plant, compared with the original projections, is more than 1 year behind schedule at present. All participating parties are to blame for this unfavorable state of affairs. For example, neither the material nor the financial plans were realized in Mochovce last year. The work, in particular, of all involved suppliers, including the managements of state enterprises, will be assessed more strictly now.

The situation in Temelin is better. With a few exceptions, the timetable for the work is being adhered to despite the fact that some suppliers, for example, the East Slovak Iron Works of Kosice do not have the requisite attitude toward the justified demands of the builders. It is projected that about Kcs2.5 billion will be invested in this important project this year, which is a record in Czechoslovakia's construction sector. This means, among other things, completing the construction of 2 cooling towers, building the reactor hall up to the height of 40 meters, laying the necessary pipe work, constructing canals, buildings, and storage facilities.

CTK Cites Hungarian Daily on Danube Dam Project

LD1103091589 Prague CTK in English 0850 GMT 11 Mar 89

["PRAVDA Puts Right Western Misinterpretations of Hungarian Speech"—CTK headline]

[Text] Bratislava March 11 (CTK)—"Some Western agencies interpret the address of the Hungarian prime minister at a parliamentary session to mean that he had promised to halt works on the Nagymaros stage of the Danube cascade. Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth...actually promised that the government would prepare a budget report before May-June this year," correspondent of the Slovak daily PRAVDA wrote from Budapest today.

The interpretation given by the REUTERS agency and referred to by Austrian television confused representatives of Donau-Kraftwerke, the Austrian general suppliers for the Nagymaros project, General Manager of the

Hungarian investors Miklos Szanto told PRAVDA correspondent that such misinformation hampered work and caused uncertainty of partners, thus undermining the crediblity of the Hungarian side, PRAVDA wrote.

Alleviating Impact of Gabcikovo Dam Discussed

AU0903144189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Equal Priority to Ecology"]

[Text] Bratislava—The enhancement and protection of the environment on the territory affected by the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroscheme on the Danube now has the same priority as construction itself. However, the implementation of concomitant ecological measures would benefit from better coordination between individual sectors and organizations. This conclusion was fully endorsed by yesterday's news conference in Bratislava, which was organized by the Club of Environmentalist Journalists of the Slovak Journalists Association.

Participants in the debate stressed that even the original concept envisaged the hydroscheme as an ecological project, one, naturally, with comprehensive economic use. The formidable impact of construction on an extensive area along the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian section of the river was not overlooked during the preparatory works either. As Julius Binder from the Bratislava Hydroconsult organization said on behalf of the scheme's designers, almost Kcs1 billion alone was spent on surveying and appraising the territory prior to construction. The so-called "Bioproject" study was completed before construction was started; its specific measures are being partially implemented in the course of construction. However, in the relatively long years of the hydroscheme's realization, new demands for environmental protection have arisen from social practice. This is why the "Bioproject" was updated in 1986 on the basis of new knowledge acquired by departmental research institutes and institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The volume of approved ecological measures currently represents roughly 20 percent of the total cost of the scheme's construction.

It is not, however, easy to put these intentions into practice in a relatively short time. According to Ladislav Lisicky, from the Slovak Academy of Sciences, a relatively large number of measures have recently been acknowledged as necessary. Alas, the amount of work connected with their implementation has not always been fully appreciated so that many implementors have, in fact, been caught unprepared.

[Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 8 March on page 1 carries a 250-word "md"-signed report on the same Bratislava press conference. The report cites Jozef Csanadi from the Slovak Ministry of Forestry, Water Management, and Wood-Processing Industry as having said that a review of the implementation of the "bioproject" carried out 2 years ago revealed that "very little of it had been implemented, respectively that some projected undertakings can no longer be implemented, often because of irresponsibility that does not lie with the builders of the hydroscheme."]

Direct Ostrava-Moscow Air Link To Open

AU0903115689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Expansion of Czechoslovak Airlines' Services"]

[Excerpts] Mosnov—In the interest of a further improvement of services for its passengers, Czechoslovak Airlines will open regular flights on the Ostrava-Moscow-Ostrava route from Ostrava-Mosnov airport on 3 April 1989. The days of operation of this air link will be Monday and Friday. [passage omitted] The introduction of a regular air link between Ostrava and Moscow will not only permit fast and convenient travel to the USSR capital, but also save costs that have until now been connected with transportation to Prague or Bratislava airports.

Leipzig Spring Fair Opens; Leaders Arrive

Gorbachev Sends Greetings

LD1203185189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has sent most cordial greetings to the 1989 Leipzig Spring Fair. The greetings message was conveyed by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, during the traditional get-together of the Soviet Government delegation with GDR party and state leaders at the end of their walking tour of the USSR exhibition pavilion.

The fair is taking place at a time when the GDR is preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the socialist state. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the entire people of the GDR are extended best wishes for new successes in the building of socialism and in the safeguarding of peace.

Talyzin Arrives in Leipzig

LD1103184789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—A USSR Government delegation arrived today in Leipzig for the Spring Fair. It is headed by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Talyzin Praises USSR-GDR Ties

LD1203193989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1607 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In his speech in the Soviet pavilion today, Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said that the Soviet Union is a traditional participant in the Leipzig Fair—the international exhibition of scientific-technical progress. The head of the Soviet Government delegation to the spring fair said that the USSR exhibition essentially demonstrates the scientific-technical developments of Soviet scientists, engineers, and designers in machine construction.

The 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference worked out a comprehensive program of revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and determined the foundations for economic reform and the democratization of social life, Talyzin said. The reorganization is shaping the main features of our life, he said. The Soviet people link their future to it. The organization of the country's economy also positively influences our foreign trade relations. The decisions we have made in the sphere of foreign trade relations are based on the priorities of the comprehensive consolidation of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries.

The nature of relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR is a cause for great satisfaction. They are relations of firm friendship and international solidarity, which are characterized by an agreement of views on the principal questions of foreign policy and socialist construction. The basis of bilateral relations is formed by the firm and unshakeable alliance between the CPSU and the SED.

The USSR deputy premier noted that in January the bilateral concept for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 2000 was signed. It will contribute to accomplishing the strategic tasks facing the two economies in the implementation of progressive structural changes in industry and in the improvement of the division of labor between the USSR and the GDR. The comprehensive work to coordinate plans for developing the two economies for the forthcoming 5-Year Plan is actively in progress. For the first time, this work is taking place with the broad involvement of enterprises and organizations of the two countries. The direct relations between the enterprises and the relations of cooperation are developing, especially in machine construction. Work is continuing on the creation of joint enterprises. At the fair, an agreement on a joint enterprise for the manufacture of software for office, personal, and workstation computers will be signed, Talyzin said.

In international matters, the USSR and the GDR cooperate closely and are trying to achieve an improvement in the world political climate, the deputy premier said. The decisions of the USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw pact states on reducing their troops, weapons, and military expenditure and on the withdrawal of some of the Soviet troops from the GDR, CSSR, and Hungary are an important contribution to the consolidation of mutual trust in Europe. These measures testify to the genuine interest of the socialist countries in reducing the military confrontation in Europe and in achieving concrete results in the reduction of troops and conventional weapons.

The world is becoming safer, Talyzin said. The new approach to questions of develping civilization, the need for which Mikhail Gorbachev so convincingly expressed in his speech to the United Nations, is asserting itself. However, unflagging efforts are necessary so that the era of real disarmament into which mankind has entered through the new thinking which is increasingly prevailing, will not stop halfway.

The USSR highly values the GDR's contribution to the implementation of a coordinated foreign policy course of the socialist community of states and to the solution of the most important problems of international security.

Beil Praises Soviet Participation

LD1303093189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1507 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig, (ADN)—The Leipzig fair and the participation of the USSR make it clear to all the world how friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR are developing purposefully, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil said in the Soviet pavilion at the Leipzig Spring Fair on Sunday.

The working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in September last year inaugurated a new phase in these relations, the minister said. The basic path for the deepening of the bilateral division of labor is being laid down in line with the strategy for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR up to the year 2000. The main aim of the close cooperation is to raise the efficiency of social production and to accelerate science and technology, particularly key technologies, in order to create a stable basis for a further increase in the living standards of both peoples. With this new strategy, both countries are facing up to the tasks of deepening cooperation in research, development, and production, tasks which point far into the future. Fundamental significance is attached to the coordination of economic plans for the period 1991-1995, Dr Beil went on to say.

The minister noted that the factories and combines of the GDR are gearing up to the solution of key problems of the Soviet economy with high scientific standards. In line with the slogan of the 1989 Leipzig fair, "Flexible automation," especially the machine tool industry of the GDR is presenting solutions which are internationally competitive and which will also give fresh impetus to foreign trade in such products. In line with the long-term trade agreement, the Berlin "7 October" machine tool combine is supplying to the USSR 74 flexible production line sections, which will be used in the modernization of the Soviet automobile industry.

There are also plans for the development and cooperation of five-sided processing centers [5-seiten-bearbeitszentren], which up to now have been produced by only a few factories in the world. This underlines the importance of mechanical engineering and of electrical engineering/electronics as the main carriers of GDR exports.

The collective exhibition of the USSR at this fair shows yet again that the long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR has reached a high level. He could note once again, the minister said, that the Leipzig fair is giving important impetus for the further deepening and development of foreign trade. Of great significance for this fair is, once more, the conclusion of important export and import contracts between partners in our two countries.

Leipzig, as a traditional center of peaceful trade, has for decades occupied an important place in the fraternal bond between the GDR and the Soviet Union. The whole world is being convincingly shown that all-around cooperation among the socialist countries, on the basis of mutual trust and mutual advantage, is and remains an achievement of socialism.

The foreign trade minister went on to say that the SED has placed economic development at the center of social policy which is marked by dynamism, stability, growing efficiency, and quality. The range of exhibits by GDR combines at this fair demonstrated the successes gained on this path.

In the 40th year of the existence of the GDR, the workers of the GDR are supporting this policy with all their strength through their wide-ranging initiatives in socialist competition, because growing economic power ensures a rising living standard, social security, full employment, a high level of education, and free health care. Thus in peaceful competition with capitalism the socialist social order is being made more attractive and the superiority of socialism is being made manifest.

In conclusion, Dr Beil expressed the conviction that the fighting union between the two parties and countries is the best precondition for the solution of the complicated and demanding tasks still facing us in the construction of developed socialist society and in the preservation of world peace.

Beil Hosts Reception for Talyzin

LD1303094289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1858 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the end of the 1st day of the Leipzig fair on Sunday [12 March] evening, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil invited industry and trade representatives from all over the world to a festive reception in the new Town Hall. They held lively talks with members and candidate members of the SED Central Commmittee Politburo Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Guenter Mittag, Gerhard Schuerer, and other major figures in the social life of the GDR.

In a toast at the start of the evening, Dr Beil stressed that as a world trading center, Leipzig had constantly increased in importances and won friends the world over during the 40 years of effort by the GDR to promote trade and economic cooperation. "It will," he stressed, "continue to be a high priority for our Republic to promote communication between peoples in the interests of peace and progress and to give the best possible support to broad international cooperation and mutually beneficial trade." Openness to the world, international awareness, a good climate for negotiations, and an atmosphere of cooperation have been and will remain hallmarks of the Leipzig fair.

The reception offered many opportunities for the exchange of opinions and ideas on the further development of trade and on opportunities and prospects for economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The GDR representatives held conversations, among others, with the head of the Soviet Government delegation, Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Shane Korbeci, Albanian minister of foreign trade; Gebre-Kidan Tadesse, Ethiopian minister of foreign trade; Dr 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Uthman, PDRY minister of industry, trade, and supply; Claudio Aranzadi, Spanish minister of industry and energy; Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia in the FRG; Knud Erik Tygesen, secretary of state of the Danish Foreign Ministry; Gan Zhijian, Chinese deputy minister of construction; Raymond Ravenel, chairman of the French Committee for the Promotion of Trade; and Dr Jerome Ottmar, honorary chairman of the USA-GDR Trade and Economic Council.

Stoph Hosts Dinner for Talyzin

LD1203210489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph this evening gave a dinner for the Soviet Government delegation led by Deputy Premier Nikolay Talyzin which is visiting the Leipzig Spring Fair.

The partners in the talk stressed the great importance of the measures decided on by the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states for the unilateral reduction of forces and arms for the brisk continuation of the disarmament process. This had created favorable conditions for the successful progress of the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, from which the peoples were expecting tangible results for the consolidation of confidence and security on our continent.

Willi Stoph praised the Soviet exhibition, which with its high-quality products exemplified the leading theme of this Leipzig Spring Fair—"Flexible Automation." Equally impressive were the special exhibitions of the Belorussian SSR and Leningrad, with their interesting scientific-technical results. He was certain that the next few days in Leipzig would make possible new agreements for making the powers of international socialist division of labor even more effectively usable for high growth of production and efficiency in the national economies of the two countries and for the strengthening of the positions of socialism.

Important foundations for this had also been created by the recent coordination of the national economic plans for the period from 1991 to 1995.

Nikolay Talyzin's assessment after his first impressions of the fair was that the GDR's economy is increasingly catching up with top international standards and is keeping up with the increasing pace in important areas. He also spoke in favor of still closer collaboration between the two national economies, by raising the efficiency of social production and accelerationing science and technology—especially the key technologies—a stable base could be created to further raise the standard of living of the peoples of the USSR and the GDR.

Honecker Receives FRG's Rau

LD1203203389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the SPD, for a talk in Leipzig today. Johannes Rau is in Leipzig for the spring fair.

The talk was held in a very open and constructive atmosphere. Erich Honecker and Johannes Rau welcomed the opportunity to again meet for an exchange of views on international issues and relations between the two German states and between the GDR and North Rhine-Westphalia. They stressed the usefulness of their repeated meetings.

The partners in the talk agreed on the need, after the start to disarmament made by the treaty on eliminating medium-range missiles of the USSR and the United States, for further disarmament steps, for the change for the better in international relations to be driven forward, and for the prevention of a relapse into confrontation.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR supports the USSR's unilateral disarmament measures. The first Soviet units will be withdrawn from the GDR this year. In order to prove its will to disarm through concrete deeds the GDR has decided to reduce the National People's Army (NVA) by 10,000 men by the end of 1990, and to reduce defense expenditure by 10 percent. One has a right to expect the FRG to follow this example and to make a contribution to disarmament and to take the lead in NATO. It is important to pursue a policy of mutual security and to achieve incapacity for attack of the two military alliances. The partners in the talk pointed to the joint initiatives of the SED and the SPD to safeguard peace.

Erich Honecker said that the GDR attaches great importance to relations with the FRG. The two states must contribute to detente and to the building of the common European home through the shaping of their relations.

Erich Honecker stressed the firm intention of the GDR to flesh out the commitments set out in the joint communique of 8 September 1987. He said he hopes that the FRG will also do so.

Erich Honecker welcomed the fact that the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia supports goodneighborly relations with the GDR and is working for the solution of still open questions. The SED declared its support for the joint paper with the SPD entitled "The Dispute of the Ideologies and Common Security." It is an expression of the endeavor to develop cooperation above and beyond all ideological contradictions to safeguard peace.

Erich Honecker stressed that there will be constructive progress between the two German states if they were guided by mutual respect and sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference, and by a sense of proportion and consideration for reciprocal interests.

The two partners in the talk pointed to the good state of relations between the GDR and North Rhine-Westphalia, as expressed for example in the great cultural show by North Rhine-Westphalia planned to take place in Leipzig in November of this year. They agreed to continue along this road.

Touching on the development of trade and economic relations between the GDR and North Rhine-Westphalia they noted that with an annual turnover of 4.5 billion marks—at an agreed exchange rate—almost one-third of total trade between the FRG and the GDR is with North Rhine-Westphalia. This figure also reflected the implementation in the economic sphere of the commitments and projects set out in the joint communique. [transmission interrupted, ADN part 5 not received]

Taking part in the talk were, for the GDR: Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Dr Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrman, head of the chancery of the chairman of the State Council; and Wolfgang Steger, director of the FRG department in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

For the FRG taking part were: Dr Franz Bertele, head of the permanent mission of the FRG in the GDR; and from North Rhine-Westphalia Prof Dr Reimut Jochimsen, minister for industry, mediumm-size companies and technology; Anke Brunn, minister of science and research; Prof Dr Friedhelm Farthmann, chairman of the SPD group in the state parliament; State Secretary Wolfgang Clement, head of the State Chancery; Helmut Mueller-Reinig, spokesman of the state government.

Rau Comments on Honecker Talks

LD1203211289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In Leipzig today, North-Rhine Westphalia Minister-President Johannes Rau had the opportunity to hold a good conversation with Erich Honecker. Immediately after the talks, Rau spoke to the members of the international press covering the fair. Rau emphasized the continuity of these contacts and, in this connection, stressed that this is already his 10th meeting with the chairman of the Council of State and general secretary.

The main subject of the discussion was, according to him, questions of bilateral relations between North-Rhine Westphalia and the GDR. He referred to the fact that 31.5 percent of the trade between the FRG and the GDR is apportioned to his federal land. Rau said he is satisfied that during the last few years the proportion of investment goods and machine building products of North-Rhine Westphalia's exports to the GDR had doubled. He is pleased at the GDR's interest, declared in the discussion, in concluding further business deals with North-Rhine Westphalia with regard to the rationalization of its industry and the next 5-Year Plan. During the talks with Erich Honecker, the sum of 500 million foreign currency marks for this was mentioned for the coming year. Negotiations about this will be continued after the fair.

The minister-president emphasized the significance of these contracts for medium-scale industry in his federal land.

Cultural relations, including the North-Rhine Westphalian Days of Art and Culture, planned for autumn in Leipzig, sister city agreements, and cooperation in environmental protection and tourism were also spoken about, Rau said. He approved the expansion of bilateral relations in all spheres and in this connection he quoted Erich Honecker, who had emphatically agreed with a recent statement by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who assessed this development as very good.

On the subject of tourism, the minister-president said that according to Erich Honecker the number of visits made by GDR citizens to the FRG as well as West Berlin came to about 5 million per year at present, and had increased by four percent in January and February this year.

Johannes Rau also expressed his satisfaction at the conversation with Erich Honecker in an interview for GDR television. His conversations with Erich Honecker up to now had always distinguished themselves by the fact "that we speak to each other very openly and frankly and also about varied positions or incidents which worry and weigh down on us. This is also what it was like today." Because it had been so, he considers the continuation of talks and the continual meetings to be very useful. He thinks it would be good if it becomes normal for there to be regular meetings.

On the question of developing cooperation, Johannes Rau emphasized the participation for the first time of eight universities in his land at the Leipzig Fair. There is a whole series of not only university twinnings but also of concrete arrangements in certain areas of knowledge, certain disciplines, and faculties. This is showing itself to be useful above all in the sphere of environmental

technology. The way in which brown coal can be used in a more environmentally beneficial way than up to now is of common interest for the FRG and the GDR. Here there are appropriate relations not only between the universities but also between firms.

Honecker Meets Businessman

LD1203163789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1255 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—At the fair stand of Trumpf Gmbh and Co, Maschinenfabrik Ditzingen [Trumpf Gmbh and Co, Ditzingen Machinery Works] of the FRG Land Baden-Wuerttemberg, Berthold Leibinger, chairman of the board, gave a very cordial welcome to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and the other personages of the party and state leadership of the GDR. He presented his medium-sized firm, which employs 2,500 people in the Federal Republic and worldwide. [passage omitted] Berthold Leibinger asked his guest to permit Dr Franz Bertele, head of the Permanent Mission of the FRG in the GDR, to say a few sentences.

Please feel free, you are the master of the house, Erich Honecker said.

Dr Bertele then said: I, too, bid you welcome to the stand of the medium-sized firm which, I believe combines performance and innovative capability in an exemplary manner, and offers an outstanding model for the ongoing developments of a competent firm in the FRG. Trade between the two German states, Mr Chairman of the Council of State—as is stated in the communique on your visit to Bonn—is an important-stabilizing element in our comprehensive relations.

Erich Honecker said: I would like to thank you most cordially for what you have said, gentlemen, especially Mr Leibinger. It is indeed the case that we are promoting trade with your firm in accordance with the principles you have stated. I have heard from our people that we are very interested in the expansion of trade between our firms. This will serve the interests of both sides, and that is a decisive issue. In connection with your remarks, I would like to say that, as you have stated, trade has proven to be a stabilizing element in our relations, both in warm and cold days. I myself have had the opportunity to follow this during my 30 years of visits to the Leipzig fairs. It can indeed be said that overall developments, which are also expressed in a trade volume of DM15 billion, are of significance both for you and for us. This is probably also a help in reducing unemployment in the Federal Republic of Germany. There is nothing more important than to collaborate in the economic and the scientific-technological spheres. It is our view that, in so doing, good mutual understanding is achieved.

Over the coming days our companies will be making very large offers for the development of this trade. We have left nothing undone so that extraordinarily good cooperation is possible, in connection with the sort of breakthroughs you are making in the sphee of medium-sized enterprises. The corresponding preparations have been made by us, and we will continue our work along these lines. This will serve the well-being of our peoples, both in the Federal Repubic of Germany and in the German Democratic Republic.

Mr Bertele, you have here referred to the communique that was prepared on the occasion of my official visit to the FRG, Erich Honecker continued. In the communique, we made some very important statements: firstly, concerning the status of cooperation on the true basis of equal rights, in accordance with the principles of international law; and secondly, about the viewpoint that we were developing cooperation not only in the political field, but also in the economic and scientific-technological fields. If, gentlemen, you take a look at the Leipzig fair, you will be able to see for yourselves that the range offered by the GDR is not weak. If we can work together in third markets, this will be even more successful. We favor the development of trade, and I believe that in connection with this, the possibilities for understanding will also grow. For my part, I must say that I have no difficulties with regard to understanding. I have experienced the FRG, and I know that there is a strong need among the broad spread of the populace there to go on developing relations with the GDR, and you may assume that this need is also present in the GDR. Berthold Leibinger pointed out that his firm is also receiving visitors from around the world, who were interested in cooperation or even more. I think that cooperation with the GDR has very good preconditions. We have the same language, the technicians use the same instruction books, and there are no differences in mathematics or technological mechanics. If an appropriate foundation were created, for example, by cooperation between the engineers and sales people on both sides, it is my firm conviction that we can arrive at solutions from which both sides profit, and this is how it must be.

Erich Honecker replied: We agree fully with this. Trade is not a one-way street. Particularly in the field of science and technology, we can work very well together. For example, you see in the building next door the achievements of the GDR machine tool sector in the field of automated production. We are making great progress in this sphere, also under the aegis of CEMA, so that I would say to you that there is no obstacle. This is also why we chose your stand.

As a memento of the visit, Berthold Leibinger presented Erich Honecker with a coat of arms of the city of Leipzig with a laser carved in brass. Erich Honecker expressed cordial thanks and added, jokingly: You know full well, Mr Leibinger, that we are no illiterates when it comes to laser technology. [passage omitted]

Honecker Visits Iranian Pavilion

LD1203174789 Tehran IRNA in English
1725 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Tehran, March 12, IRNA—President Erich Honecker of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) visited Iran's pavilion at the Leipzig Spring Fair today.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has put various products on display at its pavilion set up on more than 500 sq meters at the fair.

"Iran's participation at the fair reveals its success in various fields, besides showing the Islamic republic's keenness to expand political and economic relations with GDR," Iranian Ambassador Hamid Reza Asefi told President Honecker at the pavilion.

The president in reply thanked Iran for its participation at the fair and reiterated further expansion of Tehran-Berlin ties.

"The German nation and government stand by the Islamic Republic in all circumstances," President Honecker added.

FRG Appeals to Honecker on Berlin Wall Incidents

LD1203132389 Hamburg DPA in German
1236 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig (DPA)—In view of the most recent shooting incidents at the Berlin Wall the federal government has appealed to the GDR leadership at the opening of the Leipzig fair not to allow such incidents to be repeated. Franz Bertele, chief of Bonn's permanent mission in East Berlin, conveyed this demand to state and party chief Erich Honecker when Honecker visted the stand of machine manufacturer Trunts from Baden-Wuerttemberg.

The shots and other incidents, owing to which Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann (FDP) canceled his journey to Leipzig and a meeting with Erich Honecker, were not mentioned directly during the GDR leadership's 20-minute visit to the stand.

Honecker did not respond to Bertele's appeal. But he did express his continued interest in as good economic and political relations as possible with the Federal Republic. Possibilities for understanding will also increase through the development of trade. "I have no difficulties in the matter of understanding," Honecker said, toasting the well-being of the two German states with his hosts.

As he left the Trunts stand, Honecker asked by an ARD correspondent about the federal economics minister's cancellation, said he has "not yet received it. I don't know."

Bertele said that in recent days and weeks there have been setbacks and strains in relations between the two German states, "which we hoped belonged to the past." The chief of the mission told Honecker: "The federal government appeals for this reason to the GDR leadership to do everything to prevent a recurrence of such events in the future so that our relations can develop further," and said that this can also "be experienced positively by the people."

Honecker spoke mainly of economic topics, for example the volume of German-German trade of around 15 billion marks [currency as recieved]. According to Honecker, trade "also helps to eliminate unemployment in the Federal Republic. We have a great interest in it," the Council of State chairman noted. On the relationship between the two German states, he said that the GDR is aware that people in the Federal Republic are concerned about improving the relationship with the GDR, and that the same is true of the people in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Honecker Expresses Regret

LD1203181189 Hamburg DPA in German
1742 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—According to North-Rhine Westphalian Minister-President Johannes Rau, GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker has expressed regret about the latest incidents at the Berlin Wall. In a conversation with Rau on the sidelines of the Leipzig Spring Fair, Honecker said on Sunday that "nothing is further from the wishes" of the GDR than to place a strain on relations between the FRG and the GDR, the minister-president told journalists after the 90-minute talk.

FRG Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussman cancelled his visit to the fair because in Berlin on Friday GDR border troops opened fire on a young man as he tried to escape. According to Rau, Honecker regretted Haussman's cancellation.

Rau reported that he had "listed for Honecker a whole series of border incidents over the last few months," including the shooting of a 20-year-old man on the night of 5 February. Rau called these incidents "depressing." Talks become more difficult in their shadow.

Honecker assured him, said Rau, that the interpretation of the new travel regulations for GDR citizens, which have been valid since the start of the year, would be "generous." He had, the minister-president went on to say, asked the general secretary to take care to ensure that travel would not be restricted for GDR citizens. According to Honecker, the number of those traveling to the West had risen by four percent in January and February of this year. Rau, who has met the State Council chairman several times before, said that the meeting was a "good dialogue."

3 Commit 'Violent Attack' on Border, 1 Injured

LD1103102489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the afternoon of 10 March 1989, three rowdies carried out a violent attack on the GDR state border with Berlin (West). The life and health of members of the border troops were thereby endangered. Border security installations were destroyed. One person was slightly injured during detention by the GDR Border Security Forces.

Security Installation Destruction Protested

LD0903160989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1532 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the early hours of 8 March 1989, unknown persons penetrated into GDR sovereign territory near Mendhausen, Meiningen District, in Suhl area, and destroyed border security installations.

The GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG has lodged a strong protest against this provocative act with the FRG federal chancellor's office and demanded that the culprits be punished. The expectation was expressed that the FRG would finally take the necessary measures to prevent such actions, which are contrary to international law.

Man Found Dead in W. Berlin After Balloon Flight

AU1303105889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to Western media reports, a GDR citizen has been found dead in Berlin (West). His wife has confirmed to the GDR authorities that her husband had ascended in a balloon that he had made himself and that he had apparently fallen down.

Honecker Speaks on International Women's Day

AU1003123189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Mar p 3

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, given in East Berlin on 8 March on the occasion of a festive reception, during which awards were presented to meritorious women: "In Our Country, Happiness and the Well-Being of the Working People Are the Guidelines for Human Action"]

[Text] Dear women and girls, dear friends and comrades:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you cordially at this festive gathering in the Central Committee building on the occasion of 1989 International Women's Day. All members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of German [SED] and I feel the need to convey most cordial congratulations to you, and through you to all women and girls in our republic. We greet all women and girls who have received the Clara Zetkin Medal and other awards for their outstanding achievements and social work.

International Womens' Day, which is the occasion for our gathering here, is deeply rooted in the creation and growth of our GDR. When we celebrate the 40th anniversary of its founding this year, men and women, the young and the old can rightly state that socialism has opened up a new life for them where happiness and the well-being of the working people are the guidelines for human action.

August Bebel, the passionate socialist and internationalist was so right when he stressed that only socialism is in a position to ensure equal rights for men and women. We can state with pleasure and satisfaction that, since the introduction of socialism in our country, man has been the focus of concern in a society that is committed to equal rights for man and women. This is a visible expression of the meaning of socialism, which is to do everything for the people.

We Will Not Stop at What We Have Reached

The advantages and values of our society, in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished, are becoming increasingly apparent in our time. Equal rights for men and women in practical life are an achievement that we do not want to miss and which we must continue to expand. As can be seen today, equal rights for women are indivisibly linked with the many and varied changes that we have achieved and will continue to achieve on the path of socialist construction in our country.

We do not intend to stop at what we have achieved. Self-complacency is incompatible with our revolutionary goals. We want to demonstrate, through hard work and in accordance with the rules governing the development of human society, that solutions to the vital issues of our people can only be found in our country through the creative application of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

We have made considerable progress in this field during the past few decades. We have furnished proof that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, by linking scientific socialism with the workers movement, have shown mankind a path into the future which allows everyone to be the architect of his own fortune.

"In the beginning there was the deed." These words were of particular importance in April and May 1945. We must never forget that it was particularly the women and girls, and together with them the young and the old, that overcame the chaos that was left behind by Hitlerite fascism and created the foundations for a new life. This

was certainly not an easy task, because heaps of intellectual and material debris had to be removed and a new start had to be made. The beginning was difficult, but a process was initiated which led to far-reaching changes in the lives of women.

On our path we were inspired by the experiences of our people, by the firm resolve of the Communists and Social Democrats to join forces in this construction work, to take into consideration mistakes that they made in the past, and to create the preconditions for a new future of our people by uniting the workers class.

Basic Rights and How They Are Implemented

Only few people realized the significance of the statement that the SED Executive Committee made at the time, addressing the women and girls on 8 May 1950. "The women and girls are celebrating International Womens' Day for the first time as citizens of the GDR." The right to develop their abilities was embedded in the Constitution, and they were requested to use it to the full extent. The women followed this call. Step by step, they made increasingly extensive use of the right to work, to equal pay for equal work, and to equal education and political co-determination, and to the protection of mother and child.

Through great efforts, they made a sizable contribution to building a peace-loving, democratic, and socialist new worker-peasant state, a state that today enjoys respect and recognition worldwide because of its economic performance, its social achievements, and its commitment to peace. Countless prudent, courageous, capable, and self-confident women grew up and are today fulfilling their tasks with industriousness and great responsibility.

One can rightly claim that the constitutional principle "Work, plan, and govern together!" has become a matter of course for both women and men. The entire socialist society benefits from the values that are linked with this slogan. The motto "The Way We Work Today Is The Way We Will Live Tomorrow," coined by Frida Hockauf, has not lost its appeal to this very day.

Dear women and girls, our party's program has always been aimed at gradually create the required preconditions that enable women to combine work, motherhood, and family in an increasingly better way. It is above all the unity of economic and social policy that has incorporated this concern and which has been successfully implemented since the Eighth SED Congress.

It is also agreeable to know that, by assuming their share of work within the family, the majority of our young people demonstrate that a new generation is rising.

The development of our republic makes it clear that our party is steadily adapting its course of continuity and renewal in order to further shape the socialist society in accordance with the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. We do not have tailor-made answers to all questions. However, all citizens who view their workplace as a battle station for peace are definitely acting correctly. Only by strengthening socialism will it become possible to safeguard peace, thus ensuring a better future.

The results of our work speak for themselves. Let me only mention the over 3 million new or modernized apartments for over 9 million GDR citizens, the numerous facilities for children, the stable rents and prices for staple commodities, the stores and restaurants, more annual leave and leisure time, gymnasiums, higher family incomes, and loans for young married couples.

Mass unemployment, a housing shortage, lack of education, drug addiction, and concern about the children's future, which today afflict many families in the FRG and other capitalist countries, are problems that are not familiar to us. In the GDR nobody must be afraid of losing his job or his apprenticeship, despite the fact that the performance principle prevails in our society. Full employment, social protection and security, and good prospects are being ensured on the basis of our joint work in developing our republic.

Things have never been easy for us, we received no presents, but we had to work very hard. High-level achievements, a dedicated struggle for the broad application of science and technology, an increase in labor productivity, and an appropriate relationship between expenditure and results continue to be decisive preconditions for proceeding successfully on the path of the course of the unity of and economic policy.

In preparing for the local elections scheduled for 7 May this year, numerous collectives have set themselves the task of fulfilling and purposefully overfulfilling the plan before the elections.

This is indeed a realistic goal. The initial stage of the implementation of the 1989 plan has been quite successful. The produced national income rose 4 percent by the end of February. The plans for industrial goods production have so far been overfulfilled by M436 million.

Efficiency is also being increased according to plan, but there are variations between different enterprises. The fact that important scientific-technological results have been applied in production since the beginning of the year assumes particular significance in the spirit of our economic strategy. The construction workers have accomplished high-level achievements because of the favorable weather. In agriculture, cooperative peasants have begun early with the cultivation of fields.

On the basis of economic progress, the living conditions have been further improved. During the first 2 months, for example, 29,477 apartments were handed over to new tenants. The population's personal disposable income increased by 3.3 percent.

The contribution that women make in all spheres of life, day in day out, deserves great respect. They both master sophisticated production installations and meet high challenges in leading positions of the state and the economy. Let me mention the manysided and responsible activities of millions of women as deputies in the people's representative bodies, as lay judges at courts, in the parents' aktivs and advisory councils of schools and preschools, in the Free German Youth and the Free German Trade Union Federation, in the Peasant Mutual Aid Association, and other mass organizations. In short, everywhere women are demonstrating their capability and responsibility, and show lively interest in the further development of socialist democracy in the GDR. I would like to convey cordial thanks to all of them and to assure them of our respect.

Dear women and girls, we hope that peace will accompany us on our path. If we take a look at the international situation, we can state that, particularly in connection with the INF Treaty, initial steps toward an improvement have become discernible. Our GDR, the Soviet Union, the PPR, CSSR, and the other socialist states have expressed their resolve to enhance the safeguarding of peace through their unilateral disarmament initiatives in the conventional sphere. At the same time, however, NATO insists on the concept of "forward defense" and "nuclear deterrence." By using extremely thin arguments, it pursues the modernization of short-range missiles, which is tantamount to a new round of arms race up to the sphere of intermediate-range missiles.

Proceeding on the Path of Reason and Realism

We are glad that we proceed on the path of reason and realism in full agreement with the USSR, the PRC, PPR, CSSR, and all other socialist countries. This is an important instrument in the struggle for peace. In this way, we promote cooperation among all who consider averting a nuclear inferno to be the decisive task of mankind. In many articles and private letters that are reaching us, citizens from our country and from the West have repeatedly expressed active support for this policy. The numerous peace rallies that are being held in many towns and villages of our country on the occasion of 1989 International Womens' Day bear impressive testimony to this. They confirm that the women from all classes and strata have made the cause of peace and socialism their own cause.

Esteemed guests, let me take this day as an opportunity to convey thanks to you for everything you are doing, day in day out, for our socialist GDR. Let us act jointly so that women and men, mothers and fathers, children and grandchildren can live in happiness and peace.

I ask you to raise your glasses and drink with me

—to the women and girls of our republic,
—to new successes for our socialist fatherland, the GDR,
—to the 1989 International Womens' Day

National Assembly Continues Debate 9 Mar

Kulcsar Closing Address

LD0903220989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1655 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Closing speech by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly! With your kind permission, I will not address the deputies who contributed personally to this debate, because their contributions concerned problems that can be grouped together easily. I think that if we discuss these problems according to their subjects, then perhaps the answers will be more comprehensive and we will make better use of our time.

In my introduction, at the end of my introduction, I described what the government asks from the National Assembly in this debate. I said that we are not asking for a decision on certain variants or problems, because it is not yet time for decisionmaking, especially concerning the fact that we are also awaiting the results of the debate taking place in society.

But we would like it if the logic of the whole constitution, the fundamental concepts of the constitution, would be confirmed or discarded, and that with this, in the further procedure of codification, guidance would be given. The National Assembly fulfilled our request. I confirm with great pleasure that the regulation concept of the constitution, the fundamental logic of the regulation principles, were acceptable to the contributing deputies and, because nobody questioned them, that I conclude that they met with the agreement of the esteemed house. And if this is the case, then we can start work in the spirit of this logic.

To sum up very briefly what I mean: First of all, this constitution is a law, and the structure of this constitution is developed. On the basis of the debates that took place here, I can state confidently that after the introduction, after the listing of the fundamental rights and obligations of the citizens and the people and the guarantee concerning these, a chapter will follow dealing with the general principles, the fundamental principles, and the general decrees. Thus, we could omit the heading of social, political, and economic order, because I realize that it became generally accepted that we should register basic principles in the constitution. Then follows the organization of the state, the self-governing authorities, and the national symbols. Thus, we are thinking of preparing the text of the constitution with approximately this structure.

In my opinion, an agreement has evolved and been accepted regarding the fact that we wish to introduce anew a few institutions to Hungarian constitutional practice. In one case this means a renewal. This one case is the institution of the president of the Republic, the content of which, I believe, the National Assembly debate has more or less defined. Although it is a long definition, let me use it, for this is what we have used all along: a medium-strong position of president of the Republic [kozepesen eros kostarsasagi elnoli pozicio] who cannot dissolve the National Assembly—at best he can propose this to the National Assembly; who cannot proclaim a state of emergency but who can propose this; and he would have a few other rights which I do not want to repeat because I have already summed them up in the introduction.

It appears that the constitutional court is accepted without debate. I am all the more pleased about this because, as a consequences of the parliamentary decision in January, it also is a part of our present constitution. Thus, the decision here is also affirmed concerning the future. However, certain disputes have appeared in connection with the constitution's jurisdiction. I want to return to these later.

The introduction of the supreme state audit office has been unequivocally accepted. I will also return, in one sentence, to this later. Finally, as I mentioned, it has also been accepted that the constitution should express, in its contents and in its regulatory principles, the character of society and its political direction. Several very usable proposals for the formulation of these principles have come out in this debate.

I would like to say in general that we will evaluate these principles. I will not go over all of them; very many, and I repeat, usable proposals were voiced. Presumably the social debate will also enrich these principles, and afterward we will be able to evaluate the extent to which they are consistent and the extent to which they are incorporated in the text of the constitution.

To be sure, a few are not acceptable. Allow me to mention one: I do not believe that the constitution will have to make provisions regarding sports, no matter how this has appeared in some foreign constitutions. [passage omitted]

I will mention some problems which are disputed: Proceeding sequentially, the first is the National Assembly. Here, several deputies took as their point of departure the strenghthening of the role of the legislative body, when they evaluated the regulatory principles of the whole constitution. I believe that this is something which we cannot do. If we accept that power is separated, and it is in balance, then it is not acceptable that, departing from the viewpoint of strengthening one of the power branches, we aproach and evaluate the others. For precisely this reason—and I would not like to go into detail—I, from the outset, oppose every idea which, under the title of strengthening the role of parliament, with which I, by the way, profoundly agree, and think that in this the conception's regulatory principles leave no doubt, weakens other power branches, or tries to draw them under parliamentary control.

I especially do not agree with something which also was voiced, and that is that social control must also be created over the judiciary, and that for this, parliament, or a prosecutors organization subordinate to parliament, would be the appropriate solution. There is no social control over the judiciary. The judiciary, as one of the power branches, carries out its own control, with its own organization. In order for this organization to be able to operate—as follows from this situation which is extremely fraught with responsibility—to this purpose I would like to reform the system of judicial organization. I will return to this. Thus, this is my principled point of departure. It is not new. It is there in the conception, and I gave an account of it in the introduction, I think that if we accept the principle of the separation and balance of power branches, and if we assert them in the dimensions as I tried to explain in the introduction, the further organizational solutions should appear in this logic, and this logic will shed the solutions which are not compatible.

I would like, at first, to deal with the disputed issue related to the National Assembly, and this is unequivocally the issue of the one-chamber or two-chamber National Assembly. I sense—if I compiled statistics—I would say that the great majority of contributors favored a National Assembly consisting of one chamber. Perhaps there were three, overall, who accepted, or deemed correct, the second chamber as well. Even so, I ask, with respect, that the National Assembly assent that we also be allowed to present the alternative of a third chamber, and that we should try to get opinions about this, as well, even more opinions. I had the impression that this debate was underlined by a certain misunderstanding about the role of the second chamber. This is not to be wondered at. I think that for a long time, all of us who are seated here used to hear, speak, teach, about the exclusively democratic nature of the one-chamber parliament—those of us who were in charge of this task.

So, in the whole of society, the one-chamber parliament appears as a necessary condition of democracy, as it were. Every other solution looks as if it were curbing the National Assembly's role and possibilities as the vehicle of people's sovereignty. It was formulated, perhaps with somewhat emotional undertones, that we do not need lords: we have had our lords, and we know how they behaved. Now it is not the lords that are the essential issue.

I would very much like to stress that the most essential element in the organizational system of a two-chamber National Assembly is what I took the liberty to mention in the introduction, and what I would now repeat: Guarantees. Guarantees, in a given case, even against the majority opinion; the guaranteeing of the rights of the minority. The majority, too, can be a dictator. The majority, too, could exercise unlawful rule, even if this rule is unlawful not in the sense of legal regulations, but taken in a deeper sense. Therefore, the minority has to be defended vis-a-vis the majority. [passage omitted] The majority is not necessarily right. With this I would not like to question the basic principle of parliamentarianism, in other words, the basic principle of majority decision. But it is not a coincidence that there are cases—there have been many in the world, and here, too, they were raised in the form of a very interesting proposal, when a consensus is desired. In other words, not a majority decision.

Now, with regard to all these, I do not consider it superfluous—moreover, as I have said, I deem it profound political wisdom that has developed over the centuries—that there should be an institution within the framework of parliament that does not make decisions. Let there be no misunderstanding: It does not make decisions. Decisionmaking is definitely in the hands of the first chamber. But there should be an institution that is granted a certain possibility for representing and expressing interests and expert knowledge, and for making the decisionmakers to think twice.

Someone said that this could also be accomplished by involving experts in preparing decisions. It cannot be done this way. The experts stand outside the decisionmaking process no matter how much they participate in it. They have no authority on which to base a request for a real evaluation of their opinions. [passage omitted]

Another major issue has appeared here: jurisdiction. All I would like to say—I hope no one will misunderstand this—it that the solution to this problem must not depend on ministry interests. I am very sorry if there were such undertones in the debate. At times people seemed to be suggesting that the Justice Ministry is striving for some kind of exaggerated power. I would very much like to believe that those working on preparing the constitution, including those who are employed by the Justice Ministry—they are in the minority—rose so far above ministry interests and could so clearly see the importance of this whole thing that they were not motivated by interests such as these when they proposed various organizational solutions.

What will decide this question? Very many changes can be expected regarding the organizations, their operation, and also their authority. Thus, those changes that appear, owing to constitutional and administrative jurisdiction, to say the least, in the transformation of the self-governing activity—this will be expressed in a new judicial procedural law—will show what sort of tasks can be maintained for the prosecution, if without the logic of the whole constitution. [sentence as heard] These tasks will show what sort of organization is needed.

I tried to indicate in my introduction that this is a question which we cannot decide now, and more expert debates are expected, because I thought of this. I did not think of again pitting the arguments used here and the counterarguments formulated by Jeno Horvath against each other under any circumstances, because these arguments had frequently been used. A more specific

approach cannot be expected from this kind of consideration, but it can be expected if we know exactly what are those tasks which await the prosecution. In this case, I believe that the organizational superstructure—I could say this—will resolve the matter itself. I am certain that neither the attorney organization nor the judicial organization, although they both like the status quo, will resist a rational solution. This is because both organizations consist of very conscientious people.

Now I will come directly to the juridicial problems. The key question that has appeared here is the legal remedy of one or two degrees [egyfoku vagy ketfoku jogorvoslat]. Please, do not become annoyed with me for dealing with this specialized question, and possibly a little bit more than may seem justified at first glance. But we have heard the arguments, and the arguments have to be dealt with.

The first: Why is there a need for the legal remedy of two degrees? Now, I could refer to the fact that I daily receive hundreds of letters from people with complaints against judicial decisions, res adjudicata, or just from misinformed people asking the justice minister to change the verdict. We also know—this was also mentioned in this hall today—that complaints of this type arrive by the hundreds and thousands to the Supreme Court and to the Supreme Prosecutor's Office. The present solution is for the president of the Supreme Court—that is, the supreme prosecutor—to judge on the basis of discretion these petitions if they request a legal protest. That is, they are not accountable to anyone concerning their judgments, whether or not such a legal remedy will eventually come before a certain council of the Supreme Court. So before the legal remedy, there is a filter, and then the decision of discretion. What this means in plain terms is that the citizen has no right, no subjective right, to enjoy the second legal remedy.

I cannot say that the courts work without mistakes, I don't think there's a perfect court. Thus, the demands of the citizens have significance, but, truly, lawfully, and worthily to a constitutional state, these demands can only be judged if the citizens can make their complaints using their subjective right. The decision is not whether we deal with it or not, but that we deal with it concerning the merits of the case and judge it if we are given the sufficient legal framework. Well, this is what I mean.

The second legal remedy doesn't have to be the same as the first. When there is complete freedom, it has to be defined, in law, when the citizen can turn to the next forum of appeal, but the citizen has to have right to do this. If he does this, then it has to be judged. In my opinion, this is one of the fundamental criteria for ensuring civil rights.

The problem, nevertheless, arises—very many people mentioned it—that even so, judicial verdicts and procedures are prolonged, verdicts are reached with delay, that the promptness of judicial decision is like this or that. Well, please: The promptness of Hungarian courts, in comparison to international courts, is not bad. But, if it is not as we, and the citizens, want it, it is because the court's organization has systematically deteriorated over the past 5 decades—in its' material conditions, prestige, and supply of personnel. We have recently begun to develop this to its proper place, but it does not change overnight. As it stands now, with its current tasks this organization needs such great assistance with regard to materials, organization, and personnel assistance in order for it to perform its work suitably. This must be ensured either with or without organizational reform.

However, this organzational reform does not mean as much extra cost as we might think at first. The reason will emerge. I might mention that the government has recognized the untenability of the courts' situation and has already adopted a Council of Ministers' resolution which, beginning this year, endeavors to ensures the conditions—the personnel and material conditions—which primarily make it possible to work off the backlog in cases, and subsequently facilitate the fulfillment of new tasks that come in. Naturally, it is a long-term program, but I again state that an organization restructuring does not overly burden the material consequences of this.

Regarding the system of forums, if we accept readings in two stages, obviously it will also be necessary to see to the forum. The solution Jenoe Horvath has submitted is worthy of consideration, just like the other one, which contains the regulatory principles. In my opinion, how the forum system takes shape will have to be decided with a very thorough analysis of the turnover of cases and with a very thorough study of geographical location. It would not have such an enormously great effect on the increase of cases' turnover because, just consider it: in penal matters at present, 80 percent of verdicts can not be appealed. Thus, only 20 percent are appealed. In civil lawsuits, 85 percent of verdicts cannot be appealed in the first instance. Thus, 20 or 15 percent of them end up in appeal procedures. If we continue this, I could rightly say that some 5 percent may end up in the second phase, in a second reading. This is nearly no more than what is appealed at present, not by virtue of basic citizens' right, in the situation of having judgement passed in a second reading.

Therefore, an analysis of the turnover of cases shows that here there is scarcely a danger of a deterioration in promptness, as we presume the courts are satisfactorily equipped, if they are provided for. In 1953, there were 1,000 more judges than at present. It will be necessary to reattain this eventually, and I imagine that then, there will be no problem with the promptness of courts. This does not depend on the forums of appeal.

However, I wish to reassure every deputy who has spoken on this matter, who has turned to the ministry on another occasion, or who has submitted an interpellation for this session. If this judicial reform which we have set

as a goal evolves, its most important element will be to bring justice, in the first instance, close to the population—not to the extent that it was, but even closer. Therefore, we would like to achieve for the citizens a genuine, easy accessibility of meting out justice in the first degree, in the interest of this and other things as well. We do not want to maintain the administrative boundaries, because even though it is not administrative boundaries which are always decisive, the difficulty or ease in making an approach often becomes problematic precisely because of the administrative boundaries. That, by the way, is the reason why it has been raised that we should make the county position, the judicial position independent—not necessarily independent of administrative boundaries, but where this is necessary. Such a rearrangement would serve the population's interests, for the thinking of the 1984 decision, which has been referred to, has not (?followed this). It is the exact opposite of what we would like to do.

When can this reform take place? When this version has gained acceptance in the constitution, we will formulate the law on judicial orga..ization, and as conditions allow, it will be introduced. Thus, if the prosecutor's organization were perhaps to change, in no case would there be a question of our carelessly distorting or restructuring an organization simply for the sake of reorganizing it. This will only happen in accordance with the conditions. [passage omitted] I would be the first to protest against the assumption of all judicial tasks which are not buttressed by the conditions. This is precisely the case in the case of setting up a new organizational order. Therefore, I ask that we not begin from such considerations, which might be justified on the basis of consequences stemming from a situation reflecting momentary—well, one is optimistic—difficulties. We should set out from what is most important: the citizens' rights. To ensure these, it is necessary, among other things, to form a new judicial organization.

Self-government. I am very pleased that self-government was given such a large role in this debate. I am in favor of the regulatory principles progressing by taking account of what has been said here, because it is not by circumstance that I designated, as the fourth dimension of the separation of powers, the existence of self-government. Not only is there a tradition of this in Hungary, but its real, current significance has already unfolded. Even in the current, often restricted, and mainly economically restricted possibilities, we see very fine examples of the functioning of self-government. We primarily consider local self-government to be important. This is where democracy is organized; people's everyday interests are concentrated here. Here is where people grow accustomed to responsibly taking part in deciding their own affairs. Every guarantee, every economic, legal guarantee must be given for this, for their real functioning, and here the constitution must go as far as possible.

In my opinion it must go as far as determining the basic principles of this system of self-government, in such a manner that according to possibilities, in the subsequent leg l regulation—which I envisage in two possible versions, one for local self-government and one for county self-government—these principles are thoroughly elaborated, and the laws truly formulate the characteristics of the two forms, and the consequences arising from them. This should be done so that in both cases the basis for self-government is the creation of its own legal regulations. Thus, self-government should itself decide its own structure—in so far as we can imagine this in a unified administrative order, seing that there are such viewpoints—and its own activity as well.

Neither would I forget about the third self-government form which was mentioned, organizations' possibilities for self-government. It has remained an open question whether the county should operate as a self-government or an office. I believe that the situation is the same as in the case of the prosecutors' office. We will wait until we know what tasks can be allocated to the counties. If these tasks are such that they are linked to interests, political interests and stirrings, then self-government is to be ensured here as well.

I would briefly like to reply to a question which arose, namely that we are not planning—at least in the current elaboration of the constitution—to create administrative units of a regional character, or that there will be a change in the county borders. If there are such demands, as arose in the cases of Komarom County and Esztergom, they must be arranged by means of the constitution; and there are possibilities for this in the current legal regulations.

However, it is certain that—just like after the company law, the law on economic companies was adopted—a thorough revision of legal regulations will be necessary in the case of self-government. Many lower-level rules of law and regulations which contradict the principles formed here also hamper the current operation. These must be reexamined and, in accordance with the principles, amended or invalidated.

I want to return, in several sentences, to the constitutional meting out of justice. I have already indicated that starting from the principle we have adopted, the constitutional court cannot be made to report to parliament. There can be no question of this. The constitutional court is a sovereign organ. It must set procedures based on its own decisions. Nor can there be talk of the constitutional court not examining the constitutionality of the law. This, too, must be ensured. Disputes may arise over the constitutional court's decisions as a consequence of respecting people's sovereignty. However, this does not invalidate the anticonstitutional law. Instead, one should turn to parliament. Therefore, the independence or sovereignty of the constitutional court can in no way be curtailed, because it is an organ that must be above everything, as I have said, one that is comprised of people who give the office esteem, not those who gain esteem from the office.

Thus, it is an organization that must be created with great circumspection. As to why it has 11 members and not 7 or fewer, this is because the constitutional court does not always set procedures in full session. There are matters which it will examine in councils, while also maintaining the possibility for later revisions. Thus, roughly this number of members appears expedient; it is not a number that came about on the basis of circumstance.

The law on the constitutional court is being prepared and will shortly be placed before the parliament, where all the principles heard today, the pros and cons concerning its sphere of influence and procedures, can be debated.

The Armed Forces: During the social debates among groups of deputies, it was mentioned that the constitution should contain provisions for the Armed Forces. It should decree their place in the state organization, determine their function, say how and when they can be used, and on the basis of whose decision they can be employed. I think this is a valid demand, with particular reference to what several people indicated. This must be worked out, and the fundamental principles should be put into the constitution. And after this a new defense law should regulate the details. Then, as is usual in every army, the service regulations will determine the place, tasks, and obligations of the soldiers. [passage omitted]

I would like to deal with just one principle that was raised. It is perhaps not in the foreground from the constitutional point of view, but its social interest is very great. Several people have mentioned it in the debate. It is the problem of the death penalty. [passage omitted]

One thing is certain: The death penalty has never yet stopped anyone from committing crimes. [passage omitted] The social and psychological consequences of the acceptance of the death penalty are, however, immeasurable. I could say that they are immeasurably harmful. So, in resolving the question, the fundamental problem must be evaluated. What is it? That those criminals who we wish to separate from society must be separated from society. This can be solved with a prison sentence or a loss of liberty that really extends for a lifetime. This is the direction in which thinking should be proceeding, and I think that the object of punishment is then realized from the point of view of all society. At the same time, we do not violate the fundamental right to life. This is because I do not agree that the right to life is the same as any other fundamental right, including here the individual right to freedom. It is a question of immeasurably more than this.

Finally, the question of how we proceed. The idea was that after this debate—hoping that this debate provides direction, and waiting for and watching the social debate for a certain time—I would like to say that we have sent the documents entitled Regulatory Principles to many organizations operating in society, from churches to universities to political organizations and scientific institutions alike. We asked them to debate it [passage indistinct]. Society and the citizen, after this document entitled Regulatory Principles has been made public, can without any restriction on debate, form an opinion, forward this to us or the deputies, and we would like to use this.

We will wait to begin the draft, for a while, so that these opinions can arrive. I would be very pleased if parliament would pass a resolution that we should take into account, not only the opinions voiced in the parliament, but that we should think about, and count on, the opinions arriving from society too, in the course of the drafting. Then, the text would be prepared. It would be good if the constitutional committee of parliament were to debate this text, and approve it. I indicate here that, as at the functioning of every parliamentary committee, any interested deputy can be present. Following the approval, the social debate would get under way. In my opinion, parliament should also participate in some way in organizing this. Finally, after a parliamentary debate and decision, there would be a referendum.

I would not consider it fortunate if we were to submit the basic principles to a referendum, because these are still fairly flexibly formulated principles. The text could contain many things. Sometimes people say even that things are concealed in the details. So, it is better if the population, in the course of the referendum, were to get the text that could already be considered definitive. But the population has to be preapred for this and in part this debate on the regulatory principles is aimed at this; the debate on the draft will be aimed at this. From here also, I ask the representatives of mass communication to help us to present, in an organized, program-like manner, not only the draft constitution, but also information for their understanding, for real evaluation and for decision. I think, in this way a very widely unfolded social debate could prepare the referendum.

I imagine the referendum in two forms. On the one hand, the constitution as a whole must be put to a referendum, and then those issues, by way of supplement, which, on account of their political and emotional bearings, will obviously bring with them a differentiated choice. It would not be expedient to expose the whole constitution to a situation where people would decide about the acceptance of the constitution as a whole on the basis of such choices. In other words, they should decide in this way about a few of those issues I indicated: state-form, the coat-of-arms, the other symbols, whether there should be a national flag, for example, as a woman deputy proposed, and I for my part would agree with her. Not only in the issue of symbols, but also in other solutions which, I stress, go beyond the professional bearings, and which could have some kind of special political, emotional, significance—in these we should formulate the question separately.

I would not put many such questions, five or six at most, but it would have to be guaranteed that also in such issues, public opinion should be able to voice its views, independently of the constitution.

Finally, proposals were made starting out from the point—and let me add that I am in profound agreement with the justification of these proposals—that society as a whole should formulate the constitution; that every political force should take part in constitution-making; that consensus at any level can only be guaranted, by virtue of constitution-making, if we provide the possibility for taking part in the process. The forms of this have to be found.

Two proposals were made. One of the proposals said that parliament's constitution-making committee should create a body consisting of experts, lawyers, politologists, sociologists, and that, with the help of this body it should be able to assess the methods for solution put to it, independently of government experts. I have no objections to this solution. Parliament has the sovereign right to decide in this; it is obviously not a government task.

The other proposal is that parliament itself, when it debates the constitution and makes its decision, should expand itself, should invite here, I quote, according to some kind of key, the representatives of the various political forces, perhaps of already-forming or formed parties, and that they should be able to take part, with a voting right, in the debate, in the decision, and that in this way parliament could then represent a wider decision. This, too, is a problem, a solution, which could be examined. In my opinion it is a political issue which has to be raised, discussed, resolved, in the course of the dialogues with the parties.

However, I, too, have a proposal. I would not like to disturb the work of parliament, but let me make this proposal: The existence of the constitution-making committee depends on parliament; it is parliament which created it, elected its members, and later expanded it. In my opinion there is no reason why this parliamentary constitution-making committee should not be further expanded by parliament itself, either by inviting people belonging to various political forces here to take part with full rights in the work of this committee, or by electing them. It makes no difference. It will probably require modification of the standing orders, because, if I understand the standing orders correctly, then only deputies may be members of parliamentary committees. But I think that in such a case this modification of the standing orders would be worth the trouble. I would propose to parliament that they consider this as well, and make a decision in this regard. Let us find in some way the formalized possibility for real particpation, for real cooperation.

Esteemed National Assembly, I have come to the end of my reply. I know that I have not covered every question and that I have not replied to every question that came before the House. I did that on purpose, partly because I only wanted to lay down what seems to have been generally accepted. I would have liked to express my opinion in a few debates. Our standpoint in the other issues, not touched on by me, is that we shall carefully analyze what has been said here, and if such a decision is made, then, proceeding in accordance with this, we will assert it in the text of the constitution, knowing that we must come back here, before the parliament's constitution-making committee, and we will have to account for our work before parliament, when the draft text is submitted.

I ask you most sincerely to help us in our work in the future, both directly and outside the sessions. We count on every opinion with great attention, and we will consider every proposal very seriously. Thank you very much. [applause]

Poszgay Views Presidency, Parties

LD0903200789 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—On Thursday [9 March] in Budapest, while parliament was debating the regulatory concept of the constitution, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met with foreign and Hungarian journalists in parliament to meet numerous requests for interviews.

In answer to questions on the function of the president of the Republic, Mr Pozsgay said that this post, in his view, belongs to the system of dividing the executive branches, and would not only be the embodiment of state protocol but would coordinate in determined points the various branches. The parties would discuss their proposals on the future prime minister with the president, who would introduce him to parliament. The president would hold the post of commander-in-chief of the Army. When asked whether he would accept the post Mr Pozsgay said "for the time being in Hungary, intentions have to be concealed for them to have a chance of being realized."

There were numerous questions about the multi-party system and the temporary period until its creation. In this context, Mr Pozsgay said be believes in the multi-party system, for according to the experience of the political practice to date, a one-party system does not bring balance.

Mr Pozsgay stressed the importance of social consensus, but noted he encourages it not in the interest of maintaining the power of the HSWP, but in the interest that no vacuum should come about which would make the country ungovernable. He termed the greatest difficulties of the transition to be the social and psychological structure of the past 40 years, adding that the HSWP has continuously endeavoured to pass beyond the Stalinist structure.

The minister of state reported the government was engaged in issues of creating the infrastructure of the new parties. It is considering the norms, according to which the political parties can share—without privileges—from the budget following the enactment of the party law.

On the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, Mr Pozsgay said he was among the government members who encouraged the holding of a referendum. On unemployment, Mr Pozsgay said it would not be large-scale, although far more people would lose their jobs than formerly. At the same time, he said the related tensions could be eased with a good retraining system.

Council To Draft Constitution

LD0903220889 Budapest MTI in English 2117 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—Following the end of parliament's debate on the constitution conception and the reply of Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar, the presiding speaker presented the resolution proposal that the National Assembly should approve the regulatory concept of the constitution of Hungary in accordance with the submittal. It should authorize the Council of Ministers to prepare the draft text of the constitution, and put it to social debate. National Assembly unanimously approved the resolution proposal. This ended the Thursday session and the body is to continue its work on Friday.

Debate Resumes 10 Mar

LD1003094189 Budapest MTI in English 0848 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—The March session of parliament resumed work on Friday [10 March] morning. The session of the third day began with the discussion of the situation of the Romanian refugees and of the report on the intended measures of the Council of Ministers. The MP's were briefed on the issue by Istvan Horvath, minister for internal affairs.

Interior Minister on Refugees

LD1003143389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Report by Interior Minister Istvan Horvath to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: A decision was made at the last session that the government must give an account of the situation of those persons fleeing from Romania to Hungary, the state activity in connection with this, and our further plans.

First, I would like to speak about the fundamental standpoint of principle and the political intentions resting on this which on this issue determine the activity of the government. I ask you to pass judgement in light of these and on measures we have already taken and planned in this matter.

Esteemed deputies: Reacting also to the unfounded Romanian accusations often made against Hungarian policy, I wish to emphasize above all other things that the Hungarian People's Republic adheres completely to the principles formulated in the Helsinki Final Act. It takes account of the fact, as a long-term reality, that one-third of Magyars live outside our borders. At the same time, we cannot forget, in the words of Gyula Illyes, that it is not they who have left the homeland, but rather that they were put under different state authority.

The same historical and cultural roots and the same language also tie them to the mother nation, which obliges prevailing Hungarian policy to feel a responsibility for the way their fate develops. The traditional and universal values of human rights also prompt us on this. The complete assertion of these is also indivisible from our internal and external policy efforts.

The fate of the one-third of the nation living abroad naturally influences the general feelings of the domestic population. This is why it has become an important factor in our internal political life. Everyone, both at home and abroad, must understand this. However, it must also honestly be said that all these matters were raised to the rank of open state policy rather late, and that today the government is being criticized for this. Looking at the past, we acknowledge the correctness of the criticisms. Nevertheless, we ask for sober moderation from everyone who speaks on this, for this is an extremely sensitive, complicated matter, one on which resounding statements, which however do not take into consideration the diversity of the problems, do more harm than good.

Esteemed National Assembly: I will now move on to the situation of the refugees from Romania and report on the state activity connected with this.

It is clear to all of us that the roots of the refugee question do not lie in Hungary but rather in Romania, where due to violation of fundamental human rights—among them the negative discrimination against the nationalities, the breaking up of their ethnic unity, the elimination of their individual cultural traditions and their traditional conditions of life, thus making more difficult the maintenance of contact with the mother nation—the national entity and the identity of Magyars in Romania has become endangered. All these wrongs together have created such a situation that they have made the circumstances of life unbearable for many. I must recount briefly, concerning the preceding events, that from the start of 1984, the number of those who have requested resettlement into Hungary has increased considerably.

The Romanians subjected the applicants to various difficulties, and permitted only a small percentage of them to leave. It was at the turn of 1987 and 1988 that the flight to Hungary without applications or permission began. At that time, 500 of those who came to Hungary with valid travel documents refused to return to Romania. Relatives, friends, and churches temporarily took care of them, but their situation was not legally resolved, and this at the same time increasingly became an internal political problem.

At the initiative of the MSZMP, the government decided that we cannot deny help to those who turn to us, in what they considered to be a hopeless situation. An overwhelming majority of them were of Magyar nationality, but in accordance with our humanitarian principles, the concept of human rights, we did not differentiate in providing assistance. We also ensured the reception of persons of Romanian and German nationality under the same conditions as those for Hungarians.

The National Assembly confirmed the decision of the government to all intents and purposes by allocating 300-million forints to be assigned to care for the refugees. In the meantime, the pace of flight accelerated. Another turn was signified by the fact that in the 2d half of last year, the number of those crossing the border without travel documents increased in leaps and bounds. Up until 28 February of this year—I will give a precise figure—we issued 14,013 Romanian refugees residence permits. Of these, 88 percent were of Hungarian nationality, 7 percent Romanian, and 5 percent German. Because in the meantime over 850 of them have departed for a third country, and around 200 have returned to Romania voluntarily, the number of those now here approaches 13,000.

I wish to emphasize that the situation which has developed, which we do not encourage, and neither can we do so, is contrary to our intentions. This is because flight, whether it is legal or without permission, cannot constitute a solution for the Magyars living in Romania.

At the same time, as long as no tangible indication is manifested that the actual practice of the assertion of human rights, and within this nationality rights, is changing for the better in Romania, we shall receive those who are compelled to leave their country of birth.

Esteemed National Assembly, more than a year after the appearance of the refugee issue, I can responsibly state that to date the new and unprecedentedly complex tasks that have unexpectedly emerged have been successfully and flexibly accomplished with great sympathy and effort. The point of departure of the state organs' conduct has been that the refugees with residence permits or permits for settlement purposes are entitled to social, health, social security, educational, and other provisions, along with conditions identical to those of Hungarian citizens.

In the case of persons who can work, all provisions are connected to employment relations. Most of those affected also profess that those who have arrived here should not subsist on benefits but should rather support themselves by working.

By developing the organizational structure for finding them jobs, there has been success in finding work for nearly everyone, and for the most part in accordance with their skilled qualifications. I note, however, that recently the number of those refugees without skilled qualifications has increased, and this could later hinder their finding jobs.

The greatest problem for the refugees to date is, and will be increasingly the case in the future, that due to known reasons they have had great difficulty in obtaining housing. This is currently the main obstacle to their adaptation.

What have we done thus far to improve their situation? We have surveyed where there are empty family homes which can be purchased with financial assistance from the settlement fund. A good number of them have already acquired housing in this manner. However, these houses for the most part are in settlements where there are no local work opportunities.

At the most recent session it was said that it must be clarified whether foreign citizens can rent an apartment from the state. Our legal regulations do not preclude this; and this has happened in the case of families with several children. However, with regard to the housing shortage in our towns, the allocation of rented apartments can only be an exceptional solution. For this reason, we have proposed that the councils should ensure plots of land where the refugees, by helping each other, can build homes for themselves with financial assistance but largely out of their own resources.

We are also working to ensure that the councils restore dwellings that are not in use, and that enterprises should do the same for similar buildings to aid their employees, and that these should be utilized first and foremost to house families. Such and similar actions are being developed, and we consider their encouragement to be an important task.

The situation would be improved if, in the interest of a better solution, we were able to spread the refugees more proportionately throughout the country. At present, more than three-fourths of them are in Budapest, as well as in Hajdu-Bihar, Bekes, Pest, and Szabjolcs-Szatmar Counties.

The material conditions for the state care of those arriving here have been ensured in part by the settlement fund amounting to a sum of 300 million forints, which has been authorized by the National Assembly. Of this, we used some 74 million forints last year; 64.5 million

forints were received by the councils, while 9.5 million forints were received by other organizations, including churches, for reimbursing their costs related to the refugees.

The question can be asked: Is this too much or too little? I think that everyone agrees that support for the refugees should both give real assistance and also be proportionate to the country's current possibilities.

Therefore, we wish to support them first and foremost in starting a new life based on their own work, primarily in obtaining housing. Measures in this direction got under way only in the final months of last year, and the costs of these will largely appear only later.

It must also be taken into account that because state assistance is much more wide-ranging, and as the refugees are entitled to benefits identical to those of Hungarian citizens, the majority of the costs of these—here I am referring to the costs of social security, education, and health—are a burden not on the settlement fund, but rather on the affected budget organs and institutions.

In the future and also this year, consumption will be considerably greater than last year. Support for the refugees in obtaining housing requires much more money, and the creation and maintenance of the refugees' receiving stations will demand considerable outlays.

The general disposition of the refugees is greatly influenced by how they are treated and by how their affairs are arranged by the organs set up for this purpose. Our experiences verify that the state—including the council authorities and institutions—which takes measures even-handedly, with a sense of responsibility, and a sincere readiness to help, seeks the possibilities and means of caring for them, to facilitate their adaptation.

As the same time, we have received indications of bureaucratic procedures and conduct. We acknowledge that in some cases the apparatus is moving cumbersomely, and that it is not taking enough initiative.

It was mentioned at the most recent National Assembly session that there is a delay in the issuing of financial permission to acquire real estate property as well as in the customs-handling of incoming aid consignments. I inform the esteemed deputies that, at the initiative of the interministerial committee, the Ministry of Finance has considerably simplified procedures for the housing matters of Romanian citizens, in respect to acquiring real estate.

From 1 April, consignments of medicine, food, and clothing arriving for the refugees will be handled by customs without a special permit and will be exempt from customs duties.

We know that the unresolved nature of family reunification is very painful for some of those who have arrived in our country. The children and spouses of some one-fourth of those staying here have remained in Romania. At the Arad meeting family reunification was given an important place among the issues raised by the Hungarian delegation. At that time, the Romanians promised that they will be partners in resolving this. It appears that as a result of our efforts, the practice of the Romanian authorities in assessing emigration and family reunification requests is changing in a somewhat favorable direction.

This is suggested by the fact that last year, 1,936 legal emigration requests were fulfilled, more than double that of 1987, and that 528 were fulfilled this January. By the end of February, in the framework of family reunification, more than 700 people, most of them children joining their parents here, were permitted to go to Hungary. We trust that this process will continue.

From the outset, the government has been aware that it is not possible to care for the people arriving in our country solely from state resources, even if the state organs bear the main burden. Here I should praise the role of the people and social organizations. Here I must note the work of the Hungarian Red Cross, which has comprehensively aided the refugees and acquired international support for this, and which has also collaborated in family reunification. Here I must note the work of the PPF, which has encouraged and embraced refugees' spontaneous activity.

I must emphasize separately that in every essential issue, identical views with and exemplary cooperation with Hungary's churches have occured. These churches have without ethnic or religious discrimination taken part in aiding and caring for the refugees, and they work in a useful manner outside of our borders in making our refugee policy known and appreciated. I must mention that we also receive considerable assistance from abroad, including Hungarian emigre organizations.

Esteemed National Assembly, in the arrangement, regulation, and implementation of refugee matters, change is also present alongside the stability. This has been made necessary and possible by the increase in the number of refugees, the increasing appearance of new questions awaiting sorting out, as well as the proliferation of our experience.

In what areas have there been changes? I first mention the case of people crossing the border without permits and their being sent back, which in a sector of public opinion has rightly elicited a vigorous, emotional reaction, and from which we have received much criticism.

In 1988, some one-quarter of those who arrived from Romania by illegally crossing the border were returned by our authorities to the Romanian border-control organs. Initially, the principles pertaining to this were

not clear enough, and thus, the practice was also uncertain. Although many people believe that even greater selection, and the handing back of persons on a greater scale, would be necesary, we nevertheless have considerably narrowed the reasons for handing them back, and we have also changed the procedure.

As a consequence of all this, in past months the proportion of those who were sent back has decreased to a minimum. For example, in this February, it did not even reach 3 percent.

In an important change, we have replaced temporary residence permits valid for a short time with a system of 6-month residence permits, and, after these expire, 2-year residence permits for purposes of settling. In the future, refugees who wish to remain in Hungary will immediately receive a residence permit for purposes of settling. Those who want to settle here permanently and whose situation is resolved, will immediately, before the 2-year period has elapsed, receive a so-called final settlement permit that comes with a personal identity card and number. This, in essence, means without acquiring Hungarian citizenship, but naturally also means obligations for them.

Among the Romanian citizens staying in our country, the number of those who definitely wish to continue on to a third country is increasing. Many are coming to our country with this specific intention. Contrary to the past, we today do not place any kind of obstacle to traveling on, even in the case of those of Hungarian nationality, taking as our starting point the fact that it is a human right to choose one's country of residence.

Over 1,000 Romanian refugees are currently awaiting the possibility of traveling on. Several of them are not working, but at the same time they are impatient and unjustifiably complaining. However, their departure for a third country does not depend on a Hungarian exit permit, but much more on the fact that most countries show very meager willingness to accept those arriving from Romania.

Esteemed National Assembly: In the coming months, we are preparing for further important measures. The Council of Ministers, in the interest of a more organized handling of the refugee issue, has decided to set up refugee reception stations. This is made necessary by the probable continuation of emigration. We have created a specialist committee in the Interior Ministry to work out a proposal for the location of the stations, for its range of tasks and authority, and for its operation and management regulations.

Representatives of social organizations, of churches, and of certain alternative movements and refugee associations will participate in the work of the committee alongside interested state organs.

What are our main preliminary thoughts regarding the reception stations? In our view, three or four such institutions will be needed in the counties along the frontier—but not directly on the border—and in the vicinity of the capital. Our reception stations will in several respects differ from those operating in the Western countries. The overwhelming majority of those perons coming here are Hungarian, for whom a suitable path for social integration must be ensured. Precisely for this reason—although measured according to our financial possibilities—the refugees would remain there for a short period, in humane circumstances.

The main job of the stations will be a circumspect and reassuring initial judgment on applications to stay, to reside here. This is also where the necessary medical examinations will take place. Furthermore, they will organize matters for those individuals who have been granted a residence permit to be directed to counties where they will be able to find suitable employment and work. They have already started building the database necessary for this.

We would also like social organizations and churches to actively participate in aiding the operation of the reception stations, their supervision, and the caring for their inhabitants.

As you know, at the request of the government, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic at its session on 24 February introduced a resolution concerning our homeland's joining the agreement signed in 1951 in Geneva on the situation of refugees, and the 1967 New York supplementary protocol to it. This decision was preceded by preliminary talks with the UN High Commission for Refugees and a thorough and comprehensive investigation of the rights and obligations deriving from the agreement on refugee affairs.

What main advantages does this step entail for us? Above all else it legalizes and attaches to a broadly recognized international agreement all our various activities concerning refugees. It enables a reassuring settlement of the situation, the rights and obligations of refugees, and the compilation of individual, internationally recognized travel documents for them. This opens the possibility for us, as a participant in the agreement, to inform world public opinion about the facts and our measures in connection with the refugees. Finally, with more basis than hitherto, we can take advantage of the help of the international organizations and institutions dealing with refugees, and primarily the UN High Commission for Refugees, for resolving our concerns.

A delegation of the High Commission is to arrive in our country in the next few days to carry out a factual assessment of what assistance we require for setting up refugee reception camps, for their operation, and for helping refugees to settle in or to travel on to other countries.

The Executive Committee of the High Commission will decide on the specific method and extent of the material and technical assistance. After appropriate preparations, as a consequence of our joining the convention, we will make it possible for the Refugee Affairs High Commission to open up an office in Budapest. The office will assist our relevant authorities in granting refugee status; it will also supervise the way in which we assert the regulations of the Geneva Convention.

A further task is the more comprehensive regulation of refugee affairs, one that better accords with constitutional statehood. In the framework of this, the most important thing is that in the future, with preparation and with greater experience, we should determine the conditions for accepting refugees at the legal level, as well as the system for its procedure and legal remedy, the legal standing of refugees, and their fundamental rights and responsibilities.

In connection with this, I would briefly mention the issue of legal remedies, for this was also raised at the last session of the National Assembly. It is also the government's view that the possibility for legal remedy must be guaranteed for those whose requests for residence here are rejected by our authorities. The convention on refugee affairs also obliges us to do this. Thus, it will have to be decided what should be the means of legal remedy. Our preliminary opinion is that an organ of public administration, an authority, or a court should act as an appeals forum, as is the case in several other countries.

Apart from all this, in the course of the legal preparations, we will carefully consider what arguments there are for review by a public administrative body or by a judicial body. Insofar as the esteemed National Assembly considers it necessary to exercise control over the operation of the reception camps, it is clear that this should also be extended to the activity of the organs that decide on admittance in the first and second case.

The government has set the ministries concerned the task that, within the framework of legal regulations, they should also examine, in connection with our joining Geneva Convention on Refugee Affairs, but also independently of it, and also in connection with the collective document of the international agreement on civic and political rights, which our country has also recognized, how great a review of our bilateral agreements, including those on border issues, will be necessary.

The fate of the currently valid Hungarian-Romanian agreement on resolving and anticipating cases of dual citizenship is a separate issue. Under its terms, a Romanian citizen can only acquire Hungarian citzenship if he is first relieved of his Romanian citizenship. The terms of the agreement will lapse on 10 February 1990. Its abrogation could thus take place within 6 months of this 10 August. The government will even until then seek possibilities for an appropriate solution, including the start of discussions for modifying the agreement. If this does not lead to results then it will initiate the abrogation.

The Council of Ministers has also dealt with the system of government direction of refugee affairs. It has termed it as basically adequate. At the same time, it found it necessary to strengthen the National Assembly's legislative and supervisory role in refugee affairs—not, I would like to stress, for reasons of transferring the responsibility for public administration, but rather because it is a question of issues affecting human rights, issues in which the National Assembly has significant competence.

At the last session it was proposed that it would be desirable in the interest of more quickly handling matters to appoint a government commissioner, apart from maintaining the operation of the interministerial committee. As long as this is not definitely justified, the Council of Ministers is reluctant to disturb the evolved system of direction. We believe that in the direction of refugee affairs, it is for the time being not necessary to make use of special instruments. The interministerial committee is performing its task satisfactorily, considering the possibilities. On the other hand, with regard to the increase in tasks, we consider it justified to set up a several-person refugee affairs office within the Ministry of Interior, to assist the work of the interministerial committee. We thus hope that we will be even more so able to come to grips with the task, but naturally, we do not exclude the possibility of appointing a government commissioner for directing affairs if we do not consider the problem to be capable of being resolved in any other way.

Esteemed National Assembly, the majority of people supports our measures connected with accepting the refugees and with the help they are given in settling in. A smaller portion of them, however, professes divergent, and at times extreme, views. The number of those who, in alluding to the country's current difficult economic situation, oppose accepting the refugees, feeling their own existence to be threatened by this, is on the increase. Others, quite the opposite, believe that we are not doing enough for the refugees. Because of this, there is a need for our measures to meet with a certain social consensus, at least on the main issues. I feel that the openness of the National Assembly offers a good opportunity for this now.

We also require the aid of the mass information organs in helping refugee affairs, for shaping a consensus. I can promise that the state organs concerned will brief press, radio, and television personnel even more regularly and thoroughly, in the interest of this, and that they will make their activity even more open.

Esteemed National Assembly, I think it is difficult for all of us to understand the actions of certain Romanian circles aimed at deliberately decreasing Hungarian-Romanian relations. These actions disrupt our relations and perpetuate the tension, and all these things inevitably also have an adverse effect on the European processes.

To our regret, the principled and practical differences that currently exist between the policies of the two states limit the possibilities for cooperation. For our own part, we continue to be ready for rational compromises. However, concern for the fate of the Magyars living outside our borders, including the Magyars in Transylvania and the fostering of relations with them, continues to remain an organic part of our policy. Just as we have done in the past, according to our possibilities, we will also do everything in the future in the interest of directing the attention of international public opinion to the grave situation of Romanian human rights, the nationalities living there, and thus also the Magyars.

It is our conviction that an indispensable condition of the lasting improvement of our relations serving the interests of both peoples is the full recognition and guarantee of the human and collective rights of Magyars in Romania. Unfortunately, as long as there is no change in this, the causes that lead to the emigration will also remain.

For this reason, we cannot assign Romanian refugee affairs a time frame. We do not know how long this process will last, and we have to continue to reckon with it. But let us trust, let us live and act in Hungary in such a way that hope is not barren, that the work carried out in this matter, for destiny to take a turn for the better, is not in vain.

On behalf of the government, I ask the National Assembly to accept my report. [applause]

Szuros Elected Assembly Speaker

LD1003130189 Budapest MTI in English
1240 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—Following the report of Istvan Horvath, parliament passed the decision that the legislative body notes the report of the minister of the interior, and will draw the government's attention to take the outcome of the parliamentary debate into consideration when making decisions and planning measures. The decision was passed by unanimous vote.

Thereafter MP's elected Matyas Szuros new president of the National Assembly, in keeping with the proposal of the nomination committee.

Labor Code Amendment Approved

LD1003190389 Budapest MTI in English
1652 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—On Friday in Budapest, the Hungarian National Assembly approved, with 3 votes against and 19 abstentions, the proposal on amending Law No. II (1967) on the labour code. The proposal was submitted by State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour.

Democratism, law statehood, market—our efforts characterized by these notions also formulate further demands towards labour law regulation, the state secretary noted. He went on to say that labour law has to create with its own means sector and organization neutrality, company independence, and the operation of market forces. An important element in realizing these requirements is the radical withdrawal of labour law regulation, and laying the basis of a system of agreements based on interest coordination. These principles and the conditions of enforcing the law on business associations necessitate the enactment of a new labour code which, however, requires a longer time. This work is to be accelerated and, if all goes to plan, the law could come into effect on January 1, 1991, following a extensive social debate laying the foundation for a parliamentary decision.

Justifying the current amendments, Mr Halmost pointed out: Our fundamental aim is to create harmony with the law on business associations, not only with its text but also its spirit. Analysing the main tendencies of the amendments, he said, "our starting point is that the proprietors' and employers' positions are far more sharply separated within the work organizations with the associations. As a consequence, we have to reckon with a far more powerful clashing of interests, and legal means are necessary to ease these. A group of rules in the amendment concern the multiple employment of workers, namely the system of second jobs and part-time work.

"Regulation of the interest coordination mechanism mainly affects the system of collective wage bargaining, and a new means of this is to introduce the institution of collective blanket agreement. These can, on the one hand, be concluded by the employers and, on the other, by the interest organizations of employees, on the basis of preliminary authorization of their members. Further major amendments to the system of collective agreements concern their content by setting down that collective agreements can regulate any issue, but are not opposed to the legal rules. Concluding the employers' collective agreements has a binding force".

15 Mar Celebration Appeal Approved

LD1003190789 Budapest MTI in English
1708 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—At the session of the Hungarian National Assembly on Friday [10 March] in Budapest, MPs approved, with one vote against and two abstentions, the appeal submitted by Zoltan Kiraly, MP for Csongrad County.

The appeal, the text of which was signed by 15 MPs, calls for March 15, the anniversary of the 1848-49 war of independence and revolution, to be suitably celebrated.

The appeal refers to the fact that parliament voted on December 20, 1988, for March 15 to be a national holiday. "The desire of the Hungarian people, going back several decades, was fulfilled with this. However, the overdue decision and the strong emotions that have for years been attached to the holiday have, by today, led to the point that not only can we not utilize the possibilities inherent in the holiday to create national unity, but a lack of unity could even come about. The situation has worsened to the point where it is difficult to organize a common celebration today. The HSWP has decided on the preparations and organization of this according to decades of conditioning. The more radical alternative organizations now compete for the prerogative of initiation and the achievement of the holiday. At times, we come up against signs of political blackmail. On the basis of all these, we call on the parties, unions and our compatriots to rise above their opposing views on March 15. They should prevent provocation from any side. We call on the interior and supervisory bodies to refrain from violence. Let's celebrate. Together, if possible"—runs the appeal.

Committee Changes Adopted

LD1003220889 Budapest MTI in English
1903 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—After approving the amendment to the domestic trade law, the Hungarian National Assembly discussed its programme for 1989. As several MPs proposed supplements and amendments to the planned programme submitted, it was decided that a final decision on parliament's programme for the year would be taken only on March 22.

As the last point on the agenda of the three-day session, MPs decided on relieving and appointing officials and members of the parliamentary committees, and on filling the posts that have become vacant on the basis of proposals by the committee concerned.

Parliament relieved Rezso Nyers (MP for Bacs-Kiskun County) of his function as chairman of the Trade Committee and the Reform Ad Hoc Committee, in view of his appointment as minister of state. It relieved Miklos Vida (MP for Budapest) of his membership of the Town Development and Environmental Protection Committee, in view of his election as vice-president of parliament.

Antal Reger (national list) was elected secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament.

Mrs Maria Jakab presiding then closed the three-day session. Parliament will continue its work on March 22.

Session Ends Till 22 Mar

LD1003191189 Budapest MTI in English
1711 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly ended its three-day work on Friday afternoon by relieving and appointing parliamentary committee officials and members.

The session will now continue on March 22, and the submittal and debate of the strike law, adjourned during the current session, will be placed on the agenda then.

Biography of New Assembly Speaker Matyas Szuros

LD1003231689 Budapest MTI in English
1849 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros was born in 1933 in Puspokladany, eastern Hungary. He completed his higher education in Moscow from 1953 to 1959 at the diplomatic faculty of the Institute of International Relations.

After university, Mr Szuros worked in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, and was secretary of the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin from 1962 to 1965. In 1964, he received his doctorate from the Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest. Between 1965 and 1974, he was a political staff-member of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, then deputy head of the department.

Between 1975 and 1982, Mr Szuros was Hungarian ambassador in Berlin and then in Moscow. After that, he worked as head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee. He was elected secretary of the Central Committee in 1983.

Mr Szuros has been a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party since 1951, and of the Central Committee since 1978. In 1985, he was elected parliamentary MP of his native town, Puspokladany. Mr Szuros was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, and was also head of the HSWP group in parliament.

Central Committee Session Communique Released

AU0903121389 Budapest MTI in English
2347 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/03/1989—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session on March 7, 1989.

The Central Committee discussed and approved:

—the party's short-term programme presented by Janos Berecz
—a report by Matyas Szuros on topical international affairs
—a report on the celebration of March 15, and an appeal by the Central Committee
—a personnel proposal put forward by Karoly Grosz

I

The Central Committee discussed and approved the proposal of the Political Committee for the short-term programme of the HSWP. According to the Central Committee, the programme should make it possible for

party members to represent the endeavours of the HSWP with self-assurance, and guarantee that the party's policy and ideas are clear for, and traceable by, society.

The Central Committee decided to publish the programme of action of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

II

The Central Committee considers it of great importance that the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna decided to launch talks on the disarmament of conventional armed forces in Europe. It welcomed the fact that the Vienna conference dealt with human rights and humanitarian issues in a genuine way, and took measures in the interest of a more complete enforcement and international verification of national minority rights.

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the participation of General Secretary Karoly Grosz in the World Economic Forum at Davos, and his meetings with the president of the Swiss Confederation, the Finnish and Portuguese prime ministers, and other public personalities, had promoted the improvement of cooperation with the advanced capitalist states.

The Central Committee emphasized the importance of the fact that Hungary had recently continued to foster its good relations with the neighbouring countries. It also stressed the significance of talks between the general secretary and the leaders of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The Central Committee heard a report by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on his working visit to Moscow, and greatly valued the outcome of his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The Central Committee welcomed the fact that opportunities were improving for the Hungarian national minority living in the Soviet Union to foster their traditions and maintain relations with the mother nation.

The Central Committee stated with satisfaction that the sides maintained principally identical views on the international affairs discussed. The HSWP supports the initiatives of the Soviet Union on reducing armed forces and armaments, and withdrawing the armed forces behind national borders.

Miklos Nemeth's working meeting with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky well served the deepening of undisturbed Hungarian-Austrian relations. The Central Committee held it important efficiently to coordinate preparations for the planned Budapest-Vienna World Expo.

The Central Committee noted with agreement that Hungary and the Republic of Korea had established diplomatic relations.

III

The Central Committee approved an appeal concerning the celebration of March 15. The appeal will be made public.

IV

The Central Committee proposes Comrade Matyas Szuros as the party's candidate for the post of speaker of parliament but, if needs be, accepts the nomination of further candidates.

Central Committee's 'Action Program' Released

LD1003191389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The action program of the MSZMP Central Committee has been published. The document, following the debate on Tuesday [7 March], takes a stand in support of overcoming the crisis.

According to the program, the MSZMP takes a critical view of the past, breaks with the political-economic structure which has proved distorted and mistaken, and dissociates itself from the mistakes of the earlier leadership, subjectivity, and the kind of politics that excludes membership participation. The objective of the party is to promote social progress and to construct democratic socialism appropriate for national characteristics.

The document confirms that the MSZMP offers cooperation, and on the issues of the fate of the nation it offers agreement with all progressive citizens and organizations accepting responsibility for the future of the country.

The MSZMP Central Committee sums up in 15 points the concrete aims to be achieved. The summary bears the title "What Do We Want?" According to this, what is needed in Hungary is that the will of the people prevail.

A state of law must be created together with a democratic socialist constitution, as well as a representative democracy and a legislature that embody the sovereignty of the people.

The action program also takes a stand in support of creating a modern system of political institutions. The MSZMP thus wants a constitutional multiparty system, free elections, the possibility of a coalition government, independent trade unions, independent interest representation, and a renewed people's front.

According to the document, the party wants to establish the security of the individual and the community, and thus the rights of freedom guaranteed in the Constitution for the citizen and for the individual. The action program urges a decisive government so that the economic decline will halt, the process of indebtedness will cease, and revitalization will have a base.

The party program also urges reforming the economic system and renewing Hungarian economic policy in general terms as well. Parallel with this, a better living is needed for the people, and there is also a need for a social policy that guarantees the minimum standard of living.

According to the program, the MSZMP wants a clean public life, creative work in a free spirit, the fundamental renewal of education, and freedom of conscience and religioun.

The MSZMP intends to achieve these aims—thinking in terms of people, the nation, and the community of nations—in political competition while accepting conflicts and working toward national unity. In the action program, the party asks what guarantees the program's fulfillment. In reply to this, the program answers that the unity of progressive forces, the party capable of action, decisive government, and the creation of legal guarantees guarantee its fulfillment.

According to the document, the MSZMP wants a peaceful transition to wide-ranging democracy, without sharpening tensions. In the Central Committee's opinion, it is through the trust of the electorate that the party must achieve a decisive political influence in society. The MSZMP is strengthening its reform policy to accomplish this.

The action program now published has been submitted to the membership for debate.

Bomb Threat at Kaposvar Railroad Station Noted

LD1103134189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] There was another bomb alert at the MAV [Hungarian State Railway]. Csaba Belenesi gives us the details of yesterday's alert:

[Belenesi] A man with a deep voice telephoned the Kaposvar station at 1545 [1445 GMT] yesterday afternoon, saying that a bomb had been placed on the Budapest Express at Dombovar. He added: This is not a joke, then hung up. Because it could not be known exactly which train he had in mind, two express trains that were already under way also had to be stopped. [passage omitted] The passengers had to disembark and were transferred to other trains.

The police surrounded the trains and notified bomb-disposal experts. At the same time, they introduced security measures at the Kaposvar station, called on passengers to leave the platform, and also began to guard a third train which was empty at the time. It was to have left Kaposvar at 1720 going from Kaposvar to Budapest, but in the end they sent another train in its place.

Bomb-disposal experts concluded their investigation around midnight. They thoroughly searched all three trains but found no bombs or explosive devices.

SZOT Official Discusses Visit to Warsaw

AU0803163989 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 3

["T.J."-signed report: "SZOT and Polish Trade Union Pluralism—Mrs Magda Kovacs Kosa Briefs the Press"]

[Text] A Hungarian trade union delegation visited Warsaw in the middle of the week and held talks with the heads of the OPZZ on social processes in Poland and on trade union pluralism. Mrs Magda Kovacs Kosa, secretary of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] and head of the delegation, briefed the press about the experiences of the 2-day conference.

"We learn from the daily news that events in Poland are happening very quickly, events that affect the trade union movement, the conditions of its activity, its stand, and its organizational life," said Mrs Kosa. "Reality and social and political conditions compel the Polish trade union movements to carry out an almost daily self-analysis.

"The Hungarian trade unions have always followed with great attention everything that happens in Poland and in the Polish trade union movement. Personal meetings promote better understanding of each other and contribute to formulating the stand of the Hungarian trade unions in connection with events taking place in the Polish trade union movement.

"We earlier knew that in many respects, we were in the same situation and that we had to find answers to similar questions concerning either workers' conditions or the future of the trade union movement. Thus, we held useful talks with our Polish colleagues on issues such as the trade union law and the strike law. The Polish experiences convinced us that the Hungarian trade unions were representing the correct stand by urging the creation of a trade union law, by considering strikes to be a basic employee right, and by also holding to the possibility of solidarity strikes.

"We are following with great interest and attention the roundtable negotiations that will decisively determine the long-term future of the Polish trade union movement.

"We welcome the fact that the positions are moving closer to each other. We are striving to better acquaint ourselves with the stand of trade union forces participating in the negotiations. At the 22 and 23 February sessions, the OPZZ position became much more flexible and thus, further opportunities arose for the functioning of the trade union movement on a pluralistic basis.

"As for Solidarity, the Hungarian trade unions believe that this movement is a real political factor, and they thus have to adjust their attitude to this reality. The trade unions that are part of SZOT consider it natural to hold a consistent dialogue and to cooperate with the Hungarian alternative trade unions, and they also consider this position to be justified in their international relations. We will take concrete steps by starting from these principles," Mrs Kosa said in conclusion.

Citizens' Committee Meets; Communique Issued

LD1203195389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] A meeting of the Citizens Committee, established by Lech Walesa, was held today in Warsaw at the office of the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate. After the meeting a communique was read to the journalists by committee member Kazimierz Dziewanowski.

[Begin Dziewanowski recording] At a meeting on 12 March 1989, members of the Citizens Committee and the chairman of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity acquainted themselves with the progress achieved so far in the roundtable negotiations. A lively debate ensued, during which the participants expressed their hopes in connection with the agreement that may emerge and the numerous worries and reservations they have. Having debated the arguments for and against the decisions made so far at the roundtable, the participants supported the stance taken by the delegation from the nongovernmental side [strona spoleczna] and expressed the view that the condition, needs, and hopes of Poland make it necessary to take the risk inherent in the decision to participate in the official institutions of public life.

Such participation will only be possible after the fulfillment of the demands made by the nongovernmental side during further essential negotiations. Participants have also expressed anxiety at the appearance of the tendency to limit the democratic transformations by the government side. This, for instance, applies to the matters of territorial self-government, access to the mass media—in particular TV and the law on associations—and some issues pertaining to the rule of law.

The state of the economy causes a decisive majority of Poles to live in a state of uncertainty. An opinion was expressed in the discussion that it is necessary to guarantee for Polish families effective protection against the effects of inflation and the closure of work enterprises. This requires the full implementation of the demands of NSZZ Solidarity. It was stressed that an outline of the agreement which is now appearing is just a first step on the long road to building a democratic order in Poland. It was decided that the committee should meet again as soon as possible after the completion of the roundtable negotiations. [end recording]

Poll Reveals Most Favor Solidarity Legalization

LD1103154189 Warsaw PAP in English 1456 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Seventy-eight percent of the Poles polled by the OBOP public opinion polling centre last month favoured the legalization of "Solidarity," 8 were against and 14 percent had no opinion on the matter.

In the opinion of 36 percent of the polled, "Solidarity" should be legalized as soon as possible and without any pre-conditions. 42 percent thought that it should be legalized provide it adopts at least the main postulates addressed to it by the authorties.

Fifty-eight percent of the polled thought that tension and social conflicts will fall after "Solidarity" is legalized and 10 percent thought otherwise. 17 percent were of the opinion that the situation would not change in this respect, while 15 percent had no precise opinion on the matter.

A decisive part of the respondents (62 percent) thought that the authorities and the opposition would reach agreement at the "roundtable," 17 percent thought that they would not and the remaining 21 percent had no opinion on the matter.

Asked whether they would join "Solidarity" if it were a legal trade union, 29 percent of the polled replied in the affirmative, while last December, 32 percent of the polled replied "yes."

Onyszkiewicz on Possible Supporter Backlash

AU1303082689 Paris AFP in English 0146 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 13 (AFP)—Polish opposition groups, on the verge of being granted an official political role in the country, could face a backlash from some supporters if they appear too willing to reach a compromise with Poland's Communist leadership, an opposition spokesman said here Sunday.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the opposition delegation participating in "roundtable" negotiations with the authorities, told reporters that certain segments of Polish society—notably young people—could be hostile to any agreement between the government and the outlawed Solidarity trade union.

"The opposition is preparing to enter into official life after 40 years of pause," Mr Onyszkiewicz said. But he warned that Solidarity and other opposition groups still lacked the means—especially access to the media—to impress supporters with the need for a political role for these groups.

Meanwhile, a group of 135 political opposition leaders, intellectuals and trade union activists released a statement expressing their "total support" for the opposition negotiators at the talks. But the group, founded by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and known as the Civic Committee, said it nonetheless had certain "worries" over the way the government-opposition talks were proceeding.

The statement, released after the group held a day of consultations here with Mr Walesa, added that the group as "worried over tendencies by the government to limit democratic changes."

Mr Onyszkiewicz admitted that there were often "discrepancies" between agreements reached orally during the negotiations and the written transcription of those agreements. The roundtable talks opened here on February 6, and were due to last six weeks.

Briefing on Debate on Trade Union Pluralism
LD1103063189 Warsaw PAP in English
2346 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—After almost 9 hours of debate of the roundtable team for trade union pluralism, its co-chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki together with representative of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Stanisalw Wisniewski briefed newsmen on the results of the talks.

Stanislaw Wisniewski said that much was achieved during this day, in his opinion. The debaters discussed a broad gamut of issues. Work on the crucial problem—the so-called small amendment to the law on trade unions—is nearing an end.

Discussed was also the problem of compensations for harassed trade union activists. We talked also about property questions. We are trying to find fair and reasonable solutions in these matters. I think that we will reach agreement also in these issues, Wisniewski concluded. Tadeusz Mazowiecki said the most important achievement of today's meeting was the approving of the draft law on the union of private farmers. This is the most important issue on the agenda of our team, besides the amending of the law on trade unions, said he.

I am glad that the representative of the OPZZ supported our striving to create conditions enabling the persons dismissed from work to return to it. We discussed also problems of property which are of considerable importance for us, Mazowiecki said.

Aleksander Kwasniewski stated that it is important that, after some weeks of the roundtable debates, the intentions and even ways of thinking seem to converge gradually. Some matters are already settled.

Kwasniewski also opined that the debaters are well advanced towards the closing of the discussion on the draft amendments to the law on trade unions, and that at present the chief task is the settling of the principles of making a joint representation, assessed he.

Further on Pluralism Debate
LD1103062789 Warsaw PAP in English
0023 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—The roundtable team for trade union pluralism, presided over by one of its co-chairmen Tadeusz Mazowiecki, held another debate today. The government deputy spokesman, Adam Dunalewicz, reported to PAP on the debates course and results.

At the beginning, Jan Brol presented the draft law on private farmers union which was agreed upon in the working group. The draft envisages the possibility of creating trade unions uniting both private farmers and their relatives who work with them in the farm, and guarantees that those unions would be self-managing and independent of the state and self-government administration bodies.

As a matter of fact, a consensus was reached in the working group as for the whole text of the draft law but many reservations were aroused by the proposed stipulation that the court which finds evidence that an organ of the union is acting against the law may demand from the unions authorities to hold new elections under the penalty of suspending its activities.

Representatives of the opposition side and OPZZ claimed that it would be meddling in the unions internal matters, which would be all the more unnecessary in view of the fact that the draft envisages in such cases also other inconveniences for the union. Thus, the sides deliberated upon whether that stipulation and a similar one included in the law on trade unions should not be removed.

After a long argument, the sides decided to return to that question in future while amending more substantially the law on trade unions. The draft law on the unions of private farmers was adopted by the team.

Already for the third time the team took up the question which caused most of the difficulties so far in the work on the draft of introducing to the law on trade unions changes that are necessary in the circumstances of trade union pluralism. The point is how to settle matters for which the enterprises manager needs to have the consent of trade unions whenever trade unions operating in the enterprise are unable to arrive at a joint stance. This time, the government-coalition side proposed a new variant of solving that question by way of compromise. At the same time, the OPZZ side abandoned, after a discussion, their proposal to resort to the whole crews referendum in cases of trade unions being unable to reach agreement.

However, in spite of a few-hour debate, the deadlock has not been overcome this time yet. Therefore the problem was once again passed over to the working group.

Also today, initial discussion took place on two very complex issued from the legal, political, and purely humane point of view, namely on the possibility of reinstating to work trade union activists who were dismissed after December 13, 1981, and on the assets left by the trade unions disbanded in 1982. The team decided that both these questions would be discussed in detail within a working group.

Ecology Team Holds Last Meeting, Signs Protocols

LD1103062389 Warsaw PAP in English
2352 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—At its last meeting here today, the roundtable subteam for ecology signed a protocol of settlements and a protocol of divergencies. Both documents will be submitted to the team for economy and social policy, as a contribution to the social agreement under preparation, representative of the government press office Dariusz Jadowski told PAP.

The settlements are grouped in five topical units concerning provisional moves to be implemented in 1989-90. These are pro-ecological economic actions, legal, economic and administrative regulations, international cooperation, creation of public system of environmental protection and intervention-oriented actions. Stressed was a need of providing a broad public forum for proecological moves, also through the increased amount of press publications and TV and radio programes on this subject.

The protocol of divergencies reflects the contradictory stances on investment projects in the area of fuel and energy, with special reference to nuclear power engineering.

Both chairmen, Jerzy Kolodziejski and Stefan Kozlowski, assessed that the work of the team was very useful, and that the achieved consensus was based on the principles of rationality and reciprocal respect. This will surely facilitate future cooperation in implementation of the jointly set goals, Jadowski said.

Mass Media Subteam Holds Fourth Meeting

Solidarity Voices Concerns

LD1003225389 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—Today's fourth meeting of the roundtable subteam for mass media was devoted to reports by its three working groups and discussion on the adopted conclusions. The meeting was presided over by Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski.

Deputy Director of the Government Press Office Jan Czapczynski told PAP that the meeting had begun with a presentation of the work of the group dealing with the problems of radio and television, delivered by representative of the coalition-government side Roman Pillardy.

Pillardy said the sides had agreed to introduce, in radio and TV, programmes of diversified form produced on contract by persons trusted by both sides and proposed by the opposition-Solidarity side. Broadcasting of these programmes would be scheduled at working meetings. The committee for radio and television has pledged to respect the right to rejoinder and corrections and publish them within 3 days from receipt. Both sides agreed that new principles should be established for the election of the programmatic council of the radio and TV committee.

The sides were agreed in approaching the needs to develop new, overall legal regulations in the form of a legal act constituting "order in the air" and permitting the development of satellite and cable television, telegazette, and TV stations financed from various sources.

As the Solidarity-opposition side firmly spoke up for the persons relegated from the TV after the personnel verification in 1982, the government-coalition side stated it does not go back into the past, despite the fact that not all the verification decisions were right. The TV managers will find a way to emphasize their open attitude to the former employees and dealing with them individually.

Next, Janina Jankowska came out with remarks to the above conclusions on behalf of the Solidarity-opposition side. She said that the side she represented was in favour of a radio and a television as a state institution controlled by the diet. Mass media should—being the fourth force—control the three others that is, the legislative, the executive, and and court authority. She also said that the undertaken liberalisation measures do not reach the monopoly-style mechanisms of running radio and TV. The opposition-Solidarity side is not satisfied with the proposed broadcasting of by-lined programmes once a week.

She also voiced concern over going ahead with the information monopoly by subordinating the announced future TV channel 3 and radio programme 5 to a government-controlled structure.

Roman Pillardy referred to some of these questions saying that the coalition-government side strongly favours the legal and organisational integrity of the radio and TV committee as a state institution under government administration. He also said that radio and TV can buy and broadcast programmes made by independent producers. He said TV channel 3 and programme 5 in the radio could be launched in 1-2 years after a contract is signed with foreign producers of transmitters and related equipment. He wants the right to rejoinder and correction not to be unilateral.

In this part of the meeting UPP representative Jozef Kowalczyk put forward a joint UPP-DP statement on radio and television in which the two parties postulate broader access to radio and TV. The UPP and DP propose to include a clause in the law on the system of information in the state that would establish a council of the committee for radio and TV equipped with personnel and programmatic powers. They also think it purposeful to appoint a Sejm committee supervising the work of the mass media.

Then came reports on the results of the group discussing changes in the law on the press and censorship, and conclusions related to the conditions under which the illegal press could surface.

Further in the debate the subteam discussed guidelines for an independent daily paper.

The debate ended with the appointment of a joint working committee to draft a final document for the next meeting of the mass media subteam on Friday, March 17.

Opposition Paper To Publish

LD1003223389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Deliberations of the roundtable subteam for the mass media are nearing an end. It has been established today that TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC [SOLIDARITY WEEKLY] will be published, as well as an opposition daily. Divergencies concern, among other things, access to radio and television. As far as a paper is concerned, it has been agreed that in the future there will be a free market for papers.

Progress Noted in Talks

LD1103061589 Warsaw PAP in English 2321 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw March 10—There is progress in talks about censorship and agreement that the press law should be changed by the Sejm of this term, Dariusz Fikus told a press conference here today as he commented todays proceedings of the roundtables mass media subteam. We are in the process of democratisation in the system and we must make at least little steps, Fikus said. We have reached agreement on publishing the SOLIDARITY WEEKLY and regional periodicals, we shall also have an opposition daily. But we have failed to capture a foothold in the TV, he added.

Adam Michnik declared himself, in this question, as much more optimistic, as he put it, adding: "I wonder what would my reaction have been like if someone had told me a year ago that we would gain as much as we have just got. Certainly, we have got little in the categories of social aspirations, but in the categories of political developments in Poland, something very important has happened," he went on.

Michnik completed this statement with an observation that common effort can be seen on the part of all sides sitting at the roundtable to reach something that could be called a common good.

Answering another question, Michnik said both sides have plunged into a very deep water. It has cost us a lot, he said, but I have an impression that our partners paid more and therefore their decision to go into a roundtable conference deserves recognition.

One of the questions asked about the access of the opposition-Solidarity side to television during the electoral campaign. The government side declared, Michnik replied, that we shall be given access to mass media in that period. But he stipulated that the opposition-Solidarity side will not take it as the access to TV as such. If we appear in the TV now in connection with the roundtable conference, it is a gesture of our goodwill but this is by no means our "time on the air". This will not happen before we have our own TV programmes. Access to television is in our opinion a yardstick of the true intentions of the authorities, Michnik added and voiced the hope that the coalition-government side would show courage and imagination in this field, as he put it.

Team Members Comment on Talks

LD1003224189 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—Co-chairmen of the roundtable subteam for mass media Krzysztof Kozlowski and Bogdan Jachacz said this to newsmen at the close of the debate:

Krzysztof Kozlowski: "Work in our team proceeds at a slow pace, we are plodding along and I am not always sure whether in the right direction. The Solidarity-opposition side is being pushed to positions which I do not like, claiming positions, that is. I know that the government side is prepared to give something. Only that this does not please me. This is not how I imagined it, and therefore I am not satisfied with accomplishments, though I am sure there will be some.

"We want to co-decide about many an important thing, mass media for one."

Bogdan Jachacz: "I fully share the view that we are plodding along, but problems that we discuss are very complicated. In simple terms, the road to compromise at the roundtable is difficult, and this does not apply to our subteam alone. But I also think that the people who sat at the roundtable had no illusions that things would be easy. After all, the roundtable debate embraces fundamental reforms of the state, the political system, the national economy, including reforms in the press, radio and television.

"A few concrete things were also born in our subteam. If we were to make a list of convergences and divergences, the former seem to be now more numerous than the latter. The catalogue of convergent views is known, but the problem is about compiling them to form one document. This will not be easy. We appointed a commission to draft a final document summing up the work of the subteam. In a week's time we should proceed towards the completion of work.

"I think that we will neither lack imagination nor audacity to aim towards fundamental reforms in mass media. After all, a new order in Poland, a democratic order, will require a new functioning of the press, radio and tv.

"Sweeping reforms must not mean devastation and must limit the risk. We have agreed and we are unanimous in that transformations in Poland should proceed on an evolutionary rather then revolutionary basis. That is why the sense of responsibility prompts us to reconcile the imagination of reforms with reality..."

Kozlowski: "Provided that revolution does not take us by surprise..."

Jachacz: "Let us believe in evolution."

Roundtable Subteam for Mining Meets 11 March
LD1103223689 Warsaw PAP in English
2102 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The "roundtable" subteam for mining had its 6th meeting today. The debates were co-chaired by Marian Gustek, Rajmond Moric and Alojzy Pietrzyk.

At the meeting, Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek put forth an idea to reduce the miners' time of work to a 5-day working week and presented the consequences of a possible adoption of this solution.

His idea is based on departing from the assumption that the Polish economy must develop with the to-date amount of hard coal extraction being at least maintained, that is, within the limits of 190 million tonnes annually.

The switching over to a 5-day working week in mines would require the extra employment of about 40,000 people to preserve the current level of extraction. Since this is not possible, it is suggested to exclude the least effective mines and those exerting harmful influence on the natural environment, Wilczek said.

The action of this kind should make it possible to shift miners employed in these mines to other mines that will operate 6 days a week. This solution can reduce the expected decrease in coal extraction from 30 million to 15 million tonnes annually and foster the overall effectiveness of the coal industry.

Witold Trzeciakowski said that this proposal was a valuable, fundamental and a very interesting change in the concept from the point of view of its convergence with priorities of the opposition-Solidarity side. The proposal is very serious and worth analyzing but it will be possible to take a stand on it only after it is carefully studied.

This feeling was shared by Rajmund Moric who said that several doubts had to be explained, ones difficult to take an unequivocal stand on at the present stage of the subteam's work.

Next, Alojzy Pietrzyk said that the opposition-Solidarity side would consult the new concept in mines, trying to give concrete arguments to miners.

The subteam reached agreement on safety and hygiene of work and on the question of supplementary material responsibility of mines for accidents at work and occupational diseases. They signed an agreement on the mining of chemical raw materials, sulphur and rock minerals.

Two working teams were set up to work out a stand on the protection of the natural environment and the factory health service.

Subteam for Health Meets; Debates Proposals
LD1103215789 Warsaw PAP in English
1955 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The roundtable subteam for health today held its fourth meeting.

The debates focused on more proposals preceding the introduction of reform into healthcare which were presented by the opposition-Solidarity side.

The matters on which agreement was reached include principles governing appointments to managerial posts in health service, the creation of legal possibilities to set up physicians' councils as well as the elaboration of a draft new system of remunerations in health service.

A joint stance was also adopted on the education of medical staff.

Democratic Party Spokesman Speaks on Roundtable
LD1103062189 Warsaw PAP in English
2325 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—The press conference of the Democratic Party [DP] CC spokesman was started today by Prof Wlodzimierz Wojciech Kowalski who reported on the debates of the roundtable subteam for education, science, and technological advance.

As a DP representative in the debates, he said, I am satisfied with their completion which was crowned by preparing joint documents pertaining to the respective topics. It is worth mentioning that our discussion was held in a very good atmosphere and a climate of mutual understanding in fundamental matters.

The divergences, also included in the elaborated documents, virtually lie in the ways of solving problems and do not have the character of an antagonism, Prof Kowalski opined. At the same time, I would like to declare that we generally back all concepts which are aimed at a far-reaching democratization in schools and universities, he added.

Expressing the Democratic Party's stance on the debates of the subteam for mass media, the DP CC spokesman Adam Wysocki conveyed the following statement adopted at the 18th DP CC Plenum:

The Democratic Party comes out in favour of freedom of speech and a free circulation of information, with abidance by the law and the constitution. It points to the urgent need of breaking with the practice of monopolizing mass media.

According to the DP, all subjects of social and political life have a right to present their views in public while the citizens have a right to an overall and objective information.

The DP votes for eliminating the preventive censorship and for entrusting courts of law with an a posteriori censorship of publications and shows.

Party Daily Editor Views Roundtable Progress

AU1303131689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Jerzy Majka, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU: "Thoughts on the 'Roundtable'"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The course geared toward burying national disagreements—those going back to 1944 and to 1980—has a new democratic structure that permits various Polish orientations to exist within the socialist state without a feeling of impotence and injustice, but it also has its enemies. This is evidenced by the statements made by representatives of groups drawn from the extreme right wing and advocates of extremism in the struggle against the socialist system. This is further evidenced by attempts to unite all these groups and orientations, as was the case with, for example, the initiative of creating a congress of the antisocialist opposition, which the parish church in Jastrzebie has taken to its bosom. We frequently hear calls of "down with communism." However, we should take note of the calls—albeit less frequent—of "down with Walesa." This should make everyone taking part in the "roundtable" think. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the current dialogue—and this represents great progress—is a section of society that neither shares the views of the government nor of our party nor of other forces in the governing coalition. So, the reader will ask what we can talk about with it. I think that what we can talk about above all are the rules of the game, that is, about, for example, rejecting the sort of rules that apply in free-style wrestling and adopting the following philosophy: We are divided in our views, but united by a feeling of responsibility for our common Polish state.

This means reaching agreement about those areas in which disputes and struggles should not take place. I think that, for example, a moral yardstick employed by both the governing coalition and the opposition is the Polish raison d'etat—the security of Poland's borders, the development of equal and mutually advantageous relations with foreign countries, and opposition to all forms of discrimination against Poland and its citizens and the violation of our sovereignty through foreign interference in Polish internal affairs. The opposition has many sins of the Targowica [confederacy formed by Polish noblemen at Targowica in 1792 inviting Russian intervention in Polish affairs and contributing directly to second partition of Poland] kind on its conscience. However, once again, it is not my intention to annoy anyone. I am in favor of agreement with those for whom Warsaw, the Polish Sejm, and Polish realities represent the most suitable area for agreement. We can agree that the majority of Poles views these matters in this way.

Apart from foreign policy, there is at least one other area that should be defended and protected by all the democratic forces in Poland. I think that the opposition, which constantly stresses its democratic character in defining its positions and views, should agree with me. This area should be the maintenance of the rule of law and the upholding of the law. [passage omitted]

I think that there is now more hope of agreement being reached. I believe that the talks will enable us to dispel irrational tendencies and pig-headedness. I think that this has already happened to a certain extent.

I would like all the views that I have expressed to promote accord. Let us not lose what has developed over the last 4 weeks. The emotional gap between us is still considerable, but the rational one has been markedly reduced. The history of the Polish people teaches us that Poland needs emotions. They were the driving force behind great efforts that the people suddenly launched. However, reason is what Poland requires most of all. I dedicate this to myself and to the opposition.

Some Postal Workers To Resume Work After Talks

LD1203224189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] The striking postal workers of the Warsaw post offices in Praga, Mokotow, Wola, and Ochota districts announced that they would resume work as of Monday, following 2 days of talks. The announcement was made tonight. Postal workers from the city center are still on strike. Talks with them will continue tomorrow morning.

Lodz Cotton Plant Strike Suspended Till 30 Apr

LD1103184289 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Lodz, March 11—The strike at the Julian Marchlewski cotton industry plant here was suspended till April 30 this afternoon.

Taking into account the factory's economic situation, the strikers signed an agreement in which they agreed to the changed level of wages as proposed by the plant's management already on the third day of the strike.

The workers also assured the management that they will make up for the losses caused by the 12-day work stoppage on days-off and pledged to resume normal work on Monday April 13. [date as received]

Interview With Emigre Leader in London Cited

LD1103152489 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] [Presenter] Continuing this broadcast from Radio Polonia in Warsaw, we would like to present the gist of an interview with Edward Raczynski, former president of the Polish government-in-exile in London, which first appeared in the Warsaw-based PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY weekly. This was also the first time ever an interview with a representative, present or former, of that body. [sentence as heard]

In his opening words, Mr Raczynski spoke of the present role of the government-in-exile, calling it a symbolic body now. There was a time, he noted when that government was recognized by many countries, including the Vatican. Today, it is more a center that aspires to speak out on Polish issues. The government was created during World War II, when it had a totally different role to play. Now it is not recognised in the world, but its position among Polish emigre circles remains high.

Mr Edward Raczynski next noted that much has changed for the better in recent months, as concerns Polish Government policies vis-a-vis emigre communities; and he welcomed especially new regulations making it easier for Polonians to visit the country of their ancestors. Mr Raczynski also spoke of preparations being made for observances of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, stressing the need for joint celebrations of this important historical date.

Some of Mr Edward Raczynski's most interesting remarks, though, were made in the context of current Polish developments. He says that, though political events had made him an emigrant, emotionally he had never left Poland.

I have always been present in Poland, and I wish it the best of everything. Throughout my life, I have always tried to serve Poland, putting off my personal matters, and this remains so now, he said. Mr Raczynski stated that recent developments in Poland were to him a source of both hope and fears. Finally, the government and the opposition, he stressed, are sitting at one table and talking to each other. The fears he spoke of stemmed from news reports of various strikes in the country. Maybe the standard of living has become unacceptable to Poles, he noted, but all Poles should now understand that historical things are taking place in their country. Strikes and conflicts are not a particularly good adviser in solving national interests.

Mr Raczynski said he admired the wisdom of Lech Walesa and had great respect for him. He called Walesa a politician with class. He also added that he would like to believe that Poland had finally got a prime minister who wanted to accomplish much for his country and nation. Edward Raczynski called Mieczyslaw Rakowski a wise politician. Both these men, he added, can be only as much as the rest of the nation allows them to. He expressed the view that the roundtable talks being held in Poland would lead to full democracy in the country and that this in turn would bring affluence.

Asked whether his words could be treated as a special message to the Polish nation, Edward Raczynski emphatically confirmed that. He said he was extremely proud of his countrymen, but begged them to maintain peace and quiet as well as wisdom. The outbreak of unrest now, he said, could lead to a national tragedy and the tragedy of Polish statehood. He urged his countrymen to use their wisdom and not their emotions.

Finally, the reporter for the PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY asked Edward Raczynski whether he would like to be in Poland now, after not being there for 5 decades. The reply was that he would never visit his homeland, the places that were close to his heart, due to his advanced age and state of health. At the age of 98, he said, my lifeline is very weak. But, added Edward Raczynski, I'm enormously satisfied that I have lived to see the kind of changes that are now taking place, changes that are satisfactory to people like me.

Mr Raczynski's final words were about Krakow, one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, as he said, and the need to restore it to its full glory. Once again he stressed: In my heart, in my mind, I have always been with Poland.

That was the gist of an interview with Edward Raczynski, the former president of the Polish government-in-exile in London, which appeared in the Warsaw-based PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY weekly.

Gerasimov Comments on Urban Katyn Statement

LD2203175389 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—According to PAP Moscow correspondent, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, asked to comment on, confirm or dismiss reports to the effect that the Polish Government allegedly said that the Katyn crime was committed by NKVD, and not by German fascists, said that in his opinion the statement about the Polish Government making such a statement is incorrect.

Gerasimov also recalled that work is underway on elucidating blank spots. He also referred to what Mikhail Gorbachev said on the matter in question during his visit to Poland.

Both the question and Gerasimov's reply are connected with the statement by Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban at a news conference in Warsaw on March 7.

Let us recall that in reply to a question by Finnish correspondent Matti Hoviseppa concerning the outcome of the latest meeting of Polish and Soviet historians on

the Katyn issue, Minister Jerzy Urban presented information on the activities of Polish historians and on their expertise of Polish and Western source materials which was presented to their Soviet counterparts.

The information said:

"Apart from documents, we presented to the Soviet side our expertise of the documentary material provided by Polish and Western sources. Hence, a Polish expertise. We think that everything there indicates that the crime was committed by Stalinist NKVD. The Soviet side, that is Soviet historians, are analyzing that material and they rightly say that all this is circumstantial evidence. The way we understand the situation is that the Soviet historians want to find Soviet archival sources."

Next Jerzy Urban expressed a stand concerning those facts:

"We come out for the speeding up of the process of this search. We are against the difficult process of erasing blank spots from the Polish-Soviet history being used for inciting anti-Soviet moods in Poland. This work should help strengthen Polish-Soviet friendship and support Soviet perestroyka rather than harm it.

Purported Threat To Dissolve University Condemned
LD0103025989 Warsaw PAP in English
2122 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 28—Radio Free Europe on February 27 termed as "arrogance on the part of the authorities" the alleged statement of Minister of National Education Jacek Fisiak who in an alleged discussion with the rector of the Jagiellonian University on Friday purportedly threatened to "dissolve the university."

Meanwhile, according to the minister's spokesman, Andrzej Kawka the discussion between the two, a kind of briefing, took place a day later and no one threatened anyone with the dissolution of Poland's oldest university. The authors of the program, Danuta Drzewinska and Waclaw Pomorski should know that even "in a communist regime" it is not the minister but parliament which makes such decisions. That is one thing. Anyway no one would even think of doing anything like this. With the exception of perhaps the said authors, to add to the heat of the already hot moods in the students' milieu in Krakow.

We are therefore dealing with someone accusing someone else of saying something which he or she never said, in other words with obvious arrogance. But on whose part.

In a letter to the rector of Jagiellonian University, published by the press today, Minister Fisiak calls on the students to come to their senses. Will the contents of this letter also be allotted so much time and attention by Radio Free Europe?

Jaruzelski Presents Medals to Worker Activists
LD0303040489 Warsaw PAP in English
2308 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—A ceremony of decorating a group of merited worker movement activists with the Ludwik Warynski medals was held at the PUWP CC building here today.

The decoration was performed by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, and PUWP CC Political Bureau members Kazimir Barcikowski and Jozef Czyrek.

We meet on the 100th anniversary of death of Ludwik Warynski to decorate you with medals named after this outstanding revolutionary, granted by the Central Committee Secretariat. In this special way we want to emphasize the merits of your generation for our movement, for the Socialist Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski said among other things.

The party needs your fortitude and experience, Jaruzelski stressed. Your generation went thorugh many storms and knew how to survive, to go ahead. So it has to be now, too. We must not waste the real gains which must be defended. The awareness that a new Poland has been built, a better and different one from the one we remember, should strengthen us on this road. (Strengthen) the eldest and the youngest whom we must shape and educate according to the needs of the 21st century.

Jaruzelski Addresses Military Conference
AU0703144289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Feb 89 p 3

[Speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and commander in chief of the Polish Armed Forces, at the PZPR report-back conference of the Pomeranian Military District in Bydgoszcz on 27 February]

[Text] Dear Comrades! I am pleased to be able to be with you today. This is the party report-back conference of the Pomeranian Military District, a district to which I feel particularly attached for historical reasons and by wartime memories, and because I was stationed here as commander of the 12th Mechanized Division in the 1950's.

But that is a personal reflection. I wish to use this opportunity to address all soldiers and party members in the Army. Twenty-one years is the total length of the time I have spent as minister of national defense and commander in chief of the PPR Armed Forces. I highly appreciate the trust and support you have given me. I also feel this trust today. Thank you very much for your political wisdom, your sense of soldierly and civic responsibility, and your honesty and obedience. However, I also know that you are not free of concern and anxiety about the fate of the country and its stability, and about the safety of socialist development.

Against this background, various questions and doubts are harbored and expressed. For understandable reasons, the following question is the chief one: Will 13 December 1981, in other words our joint and great burden and effort to save Poland, be endangered by the development of the situation? That question is justified, and you have a moral right to ask it. However, there is one thing that has to be remembered— were it not for our decisions and actions then, it is not just probable, but virtually certain that not only Poland, but also Europe, and probably the whole world as well would have been different today?

That opinion is not a piece of polocentric megalomania. It is quite simply a realistic realization that if a disaster, explosion, or conflagration had occurred in Poland, reformist processes inside the system and the present trends in interbloc relations, which present a prospect for lasting peace and fill us all with hope and satisfaction, would not have been possible for a long time.

Furthermore, were it not for that difficult and dramatic experience, there would be no "roundtable" today; in other words, the chances for the country's future posed by the "roundtable" would not exist. Let me quote a passage from my 13 December 1981 speech: "We are not aiming for a military coup d'etat and military dictatorship. Our nation has enough strength to develop an efficient, democratic system of socialist administration...and help from the Army can only be a temporary, extraordinary measure. The Army will not take the place of normal mechanisms of democracy. However, democracy can only be initiated and implemented in a strong and law-governed state.... Today's measures are meant to preserve the basic conditions for socialist renewal. All the major reforms will be continued...."

Here is another quotation from my Sejm speech on 25 January 1982: "Martial law stopped the disintegration of the structure of the socialist state. Thus, the reforms aimed at perpetuating the socialist renewal were not interrupted....The legislative activity of the Sejm, State Council, and government was continued. This is incontestible proof of our real reformist intentions.... the tried and tested forms of socialist democracy that were violated must be reestablished, and new ones appropriate to our higher level of social development must be built."

What do these words spoken on your behalf 7 years ago, at a particularly dramatic moment in our history, mean? They mean that democracy was not and is not an empty word for us, and that we do not treat it as a temporary tool.

Democracy is a universal need and value that has developed and taken shape on the basis of the social and cultural progress of societies. That is all the more reason why it ought to be a sociopolitical basis for the development of socialism—a system whose purpose is man's liberation, social justice, and people's rule.

Our formation has paid heavily for the profound distortions and delays in this sphere. We have carried out many significant changes in the past few years and have not been wasting time, though it is certain that more could have been done. But that is another matter, brought about by an entire jumble of subjective and objective internal and external reasons and circumstances.

Pluralism is an organic component of democracy. Perhaps it is the most fashionable word in use today. It was on the list of censored words for a long time. Even when I used it publicly for the first time several years ago, followed by the adjective "socialist," which should be taken to mean pluralism inside socialism, ideological chaperones suddenly spoke out, and various dogmatic articles and unpublished doubts arose. And yet pluralism has existed in People's Poland from the very beginning, albeit in a narrower and shallower version, and although it was suppressed at times.

Right now, as a result of the decisions of the 10th Central Committee plenum, we are entering a new and considerably more extensive phase of pluralism. And once again question marks are appearing. Is pluralism necessary? What effects can it have?

There is no point in burying one's head in the sand. The opposition in Poland has been, is, and will remain a permanent phenomenon. When the opposition acts illegally and goes underground, not only literally and organizationally, but also psychologically, this shows a certain abnormality in the life and functioning of the state and the deformity of the state's democratism. However, when the opposition includes a responsible element that respects the constitution, then the opposition may play a positive role. When we express such a hope, obviously not without fear, we bear in mind the processes that have been occurring and are still occurring inside the opposition itself, which, after all, is marked by internal differences, as well as the processes that are occurring in Europe and the world, especially in East-West relations.

In a nutshell: Broadly-conceived pluralism is a logical reflection of the real differences, discrepancies, and divisions in society. There can be an enlightened and creative pluralism that mobilizes the nation's energy, or there can be a noisy, confrontational, and anarchical pluralism that leads the nation astray.

It is the first variety of pluralism that we intend to expand and consolidate. We will combat and eradicate the second variety.

The "roundtable" is a step in the right direction. Although it is not a panacea, it is nevertheless a chance to finally achieve normality, lasting social calm, and broad civic participation in the processes of reform; and it is a chance to reach an accord in the presence of variations and differences among us. Therefore it is a great historic experiment, but that makes it a very difficult task. In many issues, the differences between us are considerable.

Nevertheless, the talks are continuing. In any case, they are not talks between deaf people. This is not a battleground, but a testing ground for Polish political culture, which, unfortunately, does not possess the best traditions in Poland. All in all, therefore, the "roundtable" is no doubt a valuable achievement.

Right now, the point is to walk safely along the proverbial tightrope until the very end and achieve realistic, positive solutions on the basis of compromise. Among other things, this makes it necessary for our partners to shake off their various complexes, injuries, and prejudices, especially because we too have a lot to remember—all the threats and confrontational zeal, followed by a glorification of the economic sanctions and many other ugly things. What is more, if the cards had been dealt differently in those days, one may assume that the effects on us, the Polish leftwing, would have been much worse. Let the slogans about Communists instead of leaves hanging in trees serve as a reminder of this.

Therefore it is necessary to write a new chapter; and here the question about a guarantee that we will not be pushed off the road to socialism reappears. It is out of the question! If anyone has such an intention, let him get it out of his head. Let me issue a warning about this, here and now.

I am not defending old positions. On the contrary, I am defending a new development phase of our formation, which involves activity for the sake of the socialism of tomorrow, of which the following should be components:

—The welfare of man and the success of everyone;
—The development of democracy and a consolidation of the legal and state order;
—Economic efficiency and social justice;
—Enterprise, commerce, and a safeguarding of higher values; especially social security, education, health, and culture.

The economy is the key to progress. Here the situation is the most difficult; it is socially painful and even tense. Tonnes of paper full of prescriptions on how to heal the economy have been produced, and very often these prescriptions contradict each other. And the only purpose of this is to "put the matter the right way up again," as the premier has said. Most of all, that means overcoming the slow and halfway measures that have been brought by bureaucratic resistance and society's opposition toward rational and essential moves.

We have reached a highly sensitive point. Are we capable of crossing this difficult threshold and implementing the radical course of reform in practice?

That is our socioeconomic purpose and end.

The current "festival" of strikes and protests is making the situation dangerous. The prices and incomes spiral is leading straight toward the proverbial shop shelves that contain nothing but vinegar. It is encouraging scheming, speculation, and greater extremes of riches and poverty. Most of all, it is affecting that part of the population in the economically weakest situation, people who complain the most quietly but suffer more than everyone else.

What can one say in a situation like that?

First, we must not diverge from the path of reforms, and we must combat inflation more decisively then before. We must oppose not only price robbery, but also wage blackmail.

Second, a firm and unequivocal stance vis-a-vis this danger is a gauge that measures the feeling of responsibility of all sociopolitical forces.

Third, I do not doubt the common sense and feeling of responsibility of Polish working people and the Polish leftwing, for they are the masters of their enterprises, and a good master does not undermine his own house.

There is also another danger. You mentioned it during the debate. It is an attempt to anarchize social life, involving various excesses that are a form of subversion vis-a-vis the "roundtable," whether or not that is the intention of those behind them.

There is a well-known saying that "young people have to find an outlet." The great majority of young people, those working and those studying, have found such an outlet in the form of education, work, sport, and recreation. Young people in the Army are not sparing their efforts and their sweat during military service. What is more, it is these young people, as well as young soldiers and functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who constitute a particularly large and dedicated group of honoray, and I repeat honorary, blood donors, which cannot be said of some other groups of young people.

On the other hand, one has to praise the positive attitude of graduates of civilian colleges who are undergoing military service as warrant officers in the reserve. Together with the minister of national defense, we are considering the possibility of reducing the length of this service. I would not be happy if the antistate and antimilitary antics of some students forced us to abandon this intention and impose a minimum period of time for civic education.

I have always been and still am an advocate of patience and understanding vis-a-vis young people's emotions. However there are certain limits that must not be exceeded! The ministers of national defense and of internal affairs should draw the relevant conclusions.

And one more bitter observation. Today we constantly hear the words pluralism, democracy, and reforms. It is fashionable to repeat these words as often as possible. I have nothing against that. There was a time when they were not heard often enough, so now the deficiency has

to be made good. But there is one proviso; one should not forget the words work, discipline, and commitment, which people are shy to utter today.

At a time of so many important thoughts and slogans, it is worth viewing life's vocabulary from a different angle.

It really causes bitter satisfaction that those extremist opponents of ours who are sticking Stalinist labels on others are, in fact, professing things that we have already abandoned and which are actually relics of Stalinism. What I mean is nasty epithets, arbitrary judgments, intolerance, monopolist usurpation, and a tendency to classify everything in terms of black or white, which applies especially to assessments of the period between the wars or the 40 years of People's Poland.

Or let me indicate another phenomenon. What I am going to say might be controversial, but I am saying what I see and hear. I can criticize and combat politically an opponent who represents genuine ideological-political views and puts up a fair struggle to implement them, but I should respect his identity. However, it is difficult to respect people or communities who are politically and morally spineless. Difficult times and an unstable situation are the best mirror of human attitudes, an examination on the subject of the permanence of principles. While some people are supporting profound democratic changes that consolidate socialism, the leftwing coalition, and the efforts at reform, others—not too many of them, fortunately—are placing obstacles in their path either because they are conservatives or because they are defeatists.

What is the most distasteful and the most cowardly are sudden changes in position according to "which way the wind is blowing," whereby people pretend that they are independent but actually choose one side or the other.

Now that the party has accelerated the bold, historic, and pioneering work of change, those who were in a state of inertia for many years at a time when it was necessary to fight are now leaping at the party's throat or, to use a boxing term, hitting it below the belt. Some of these people's methods, such as articles, statements, and declarations, remind us vividly of 1981. In that year, the "rats" hurried away from the sinking ship, but the ship—socialist Poland—has proved to be unsinkable, and will remain so.

Do not think that this sharp assessment of mine means that we ought to be angry at criticism and at differences in views. That would be worse than anything else. Of course we cannot keep pouring ashes on our heads all the time, especially because others are not doing so. But it ought to be constantly remembered that the greatest harm to the party and people's rule has been caused by the "umbrella" of immunity and infallibility. Such attitudes are still current.

At the same time, it ought to be remembered that leadership does not involve issuing directives from above, but socially tangible activity and a feeling of service and responsibility toward the workers class, working people, and nation; it involves not a monopoly, but a genuine coalition and partnership; not directing from above, bit constructive inspiration and conviction.

Is this not weakening the party? On the contrary, the 10th plenum resolution is proof of our real ideological-moral strength. It shows that the party can afford such bold reforms, and that is it capable of showing each of its bodies that people, work forces, and the whole country really do need the party.

The period of time since the plenum clearly confirms this. However, the future will tell how consistently we are able to implement resolutions, consolidate our ideological and political identity, increase our militancy, and safeguard and ensure bold thinking and disciplined practice.

Those are the main tasks of the weeks to come, but also of the coming months and years.

I have spoken at length about nonmilitary matters. However, no national issue is a subject of indifference to the Polish People's Army, because it is a people's army. You proved this to be the case in your report and in the interesting and mature discussion.

Therefore, I will conclude with matters that concern you more directly. I need not remind you that Poland's stability, the state of its defense, and its international activity are all major components of the European situation.

We are taking creative part in current processes. Our Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Europe, which I presented at the Second PRON Congress in 1987, has encountered a great amount of interest and has become a part of disarmament searches and solutions.

The decisions of the National Defense Committee on 21 November 1981 were a major step along the road to implement this plan. The essence of these decisions has been expressed in the press and television interviews given by the minister of national defense.

This is the third profound restructuring of the armed forces since the war. The first one, from 1945 to 1947, involved the army's transition to peace. The second one, 1956-57, involved a reorganization because of the international detente and political changes in Poland at that time. Finally, the third, which may be dated 1988-90, involves a profound restructuring that corresponds to the great historic initiative of the "new thinking" which has been supplied to international politics by the Soviet Union and its world-respected leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

It involves a genuinely new, bold, and creative approach—a constructive offer to replace the philosophy of hostility in East-West relations with the philosophy of a "common European house," interdependence, and cooperation.

Here I wish to stress once again the role of our alliances; the meaning of friendly relations with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union; and the significance of brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army. These are values which history has confirmed. Today, at a time of renewal and restructuring, they are assuming greater substance and new meaning. We must guard and will guard these values. I share the view expressed in today's debate that whoever says yes to our alliance, defense coalition, and comrades-in-arms, also says yes to our national security and Poland's vital interests.

Our military is a force, it is a national institution, it serves the people, defends the borders and the security of an independent sovereign Polish state, and strengthens the state's prestige and stability. Thus, concern for the good name of the military, its standing, for understanding its tasks, and for the existence of the necessary material and moral conditions for the accomplishment of these tasks is a yardstick of civic common sense and responsibility. Anyone who fails to appreciate this, who plays around with this, especially on this 50th anniversary of the September defeat, is giving himself with a very suspect testimonial.

Comrades, the soldiers who are performing their duty in the ranks of the Armed Forces come from various social groups, communities, and regions. The Army provides an invaluable forum for their patriotic integration and for education in a spirit of civic responsibility and respect for work and discipline.

The military party organization plays an exceptionally important role in this respect. Its activities in the Armed Forces have their specific features and thus are not and cannot be a mechanical copy of party functions in civilian communities. This is because the main and essential task is to consolidate the military family, to ensure cohesion in the ranks, and to promote combat readiness, discipline, concern for equipment, and military ethics.

This activity has passed the test and does not require political reorganization. However, this cannot be allowed to have a demobilizing effect on new tasks and further efforts aimed at strengthening the Armed Forces in line with the spirit of the times and in accordance with the directions of change mapped out at the 10th plenum.

I detected an awareness of the need to undertake such innovative tasks in the atmosphere and substance of your conference.

Comrades, we are living in difficult times, turbulent times, but ones that are great in terms of the new possibilities that are opening up and the rate at which change is occurring. An unprecedented historic possibility is emerging before this generation of Poles. Courage and caution are needed to realize it.

We cannot lack these qualities. We believe in the wisdom and the patriotism of our people. We are counting on the supreme values, on Poland's real welfare, being triumphant.

The Polish soldier is and always will be the ardent defender and reliable champion of this cause.

It gives me profound satisfaction to note the good condition of the Pomeranian Military District and the entire Armed Forces.

The attitude of civilian personnel and employees, the selfless efforts made by our soldiers, and the increasingly higher standards of discipline, combat training, economic administration, and work performed for the national economy merit respect.

I thank you for this once again. As we are in the Pomorze, let me use a maritime expression: "Keep to the same course." This means constant faithful and effective service for the people and socialist Poland.

I wish you further success in your service. I wish you and those close to you health and success. I cordially greet you, my dear friends.

Rakowski Interviewed on Middle East Relations

TA2402114489 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 24 Feb 89 p 10

["First exclusive interview to an Israeli paper" with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of Polish Council of Ministers, by Yosef Shemi in Rakowski's Warsaw office; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Shemi] When will Poland resume diplomatic relations with Israel?

[Rakowski] I cannot tell you exactly when diplomatic relations will resume. In the last 2 years both sides have taken steps to resume economic and cultural relations. You may say that we are currently revising the principles which prevailed in the past. Personally, in my capacity as prime minister, I have not placed the issue of resuming relations on the government's agenda. The more "bricks" there are in the edifice of peace, the more progress will be made toward the resumption of relations.

[Shemi] How do you assess the severance of diplomatic relations after 20 years?

[Rakowski] There are situations that oblige certain reactions. I leave the assessment of those moves to historians. I see no connection between the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel and the centuries-long relations between Poles and Jews. These are two separate matters.

[Shemi] What is the Polish Government's position concerning the solution of the Middle East conflict?

[Rakowski] Poland's foreign policy tilts toward Western Europe. Other than in terms of economic ties, the Middle East is of interest to us insomuch as the situation there strengthens peace in the world. My personal opinion is that both parties to the conflict—and I am talking about Israel and the Palestinians—must come to a dialogue. I do not think the conflict can be settled with the help of an international conference, a roundtable, or pressure by the superpowers. A dialogue requires goodwill from all the incumbent parties.

[Shemi] Why would Poland not follow in the footsteps of the Soviets who have been advancing toward normalization? Does it want to remain only an observer?

[Rakowski] Poland is not just an observer, but it has limited resources compared to a superpower like the Soviet Union. That is obvious.

[Shemi] Is that the only reason underlying Poland's moves?

[Rakowski] Yes, that is the only reason.

[Shemi] What are the prospects of cooperation between Poland and Israel?

[Rakowski] As far as I am concerned, a significant development has occurred in cultural relations. We are interested in economic cooperation, but that requires willingness on both sides. I have not found too much interest as far as economic cooperation is concerned. This does not stem from prejudice, but from the fact that the Israeli economy operates differently and is interested in other markets. This lack of interest also stems from the absence of economic relations for many years. [passage omitted]

[Shemi] Is it possible that the Communist Party may find itself in the minority?

[Rakowski] The Communist Party will definitely find itself in the minority in the next elections. It will gain a majority by forming a coalition with two parties that are not its satellites at present. But the Communist Party will do everything possible not to find itself in the opposition. It will not resort to dictatorial methods in the future in order to keep its position. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Meets Writers Union Representatives

LD0203014589 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today representatives of the main board of the Union of Polish Writers (ZLP) with its president Wojciech Zukrowski.

On the eve of the unions congress, Premier Rakowski conveyed greetings and wishes of fruitful debates to the delegates.

Rakowski Meets With Radio, TV Journalists

LD0903221589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski had a meeting today with a group of leading radio and television journalists. The premier appealed for more effective action to be taken [word indistinct] the essence of the economic reform. It is important, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said, to present Polish reality objectively, not limiting oneself to black or white colors only.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Meet U.S. Delegation

LD0403201589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] A delegation of the New York Council on Foreign Relations has spent 4 days in Poland on a fact-finding mission. Representative delegates of the U.S. world of industry, trade, science, [word indistinct], and politics were among the delegation. They were received by leading personages of Polish political and economic life.

Yesterday Wojciech Jaruzelski entertained them to a working lunch and in a short speech familiarized the guests with the political and socioeconomic situation in Poland, particularly in the context of the dialogue being held, and national reconciliation.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski also received the delegation. The premier described in detail the government's intentions in connection with the process of political reforms. He also presented the Polish attitude on the question of restructuring and the development of relations between Poland and the United States.

USSR's Aboymov Meets Czyrek, Kulski, Others

LD0803221589 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Ivan Aboymov has visited Poland on March 6-8.

He held talks with Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Boleslaw Kulski on the topical problems of Polish-Soviet relations and on international developments.

Both vice-ministers signed a protocol on cooperation between Polish and Soviet foreign ministries in 1989.

Aboymov was received by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek. The Soviet guest was also received by head of Polish Foreign Ministry, Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek.

Aboymov also visited Gdansk where he met with the city and voivodship authorities.

Malinowski Views Japan Visit, Returns Home

LD0803024789 Warsaw PAP in English
1425 GMT 7 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Zielinski]

[Text] Tokyo, Mar 7—Visiting Polish parliamentarians led by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski toured the Nagoya-based factory of Toyota, Japan's biggest car producer. Malinowski and the other members of the Polish delegation met in Tokyo with Chairman of the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) Eishiro Saito and members of the federation's leadership.

On Monday, the Polish delegation visited a modern scientific-industrial centre in Tsukuba outside Tokyo.

Summing up the outcome of the Japanese visit, Roman Malinowski told PAP that it proceeded in a business-like, concrete, cordial and friendly atmosphere. The hosts displayed extremely big interest in transformations now under way in Poland. Both sides expressed the will of making parliamentary contribution to Japanese-Polish relations, political dialogue, economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation, as well as development of contacts between people.

Malinowski spoke highly about the Polish delegation's talks with Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, and Agriculture, forestry and Fisheries Minister Tsutomu Hata. The Sejm speaker pointed out that the Japanese Government also displays big interest in cooperation with Poland in all fields. The government interlocutors highly assessed qualitative changes taking place in Poland. During the talks the sides were also referring to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's visit to Poland and Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Japan, stressing that they provided qualitatively new impluses for development of cooperation.

"I think that our talks helped maintain and strengthen those impulses in the parliamentary, governmental and economic planes. During those talks both sides agreed as to the need of strengthening political dialogue and all activities conducive to increased trade exchange and to development of broadly perceived economic cooperation between the two countries, "Malinowski said.

Malinowski drew attention to the intensive development of Polish-Japanese cultural cooperation and to contacts between scientists from Poland and Japan. The growing tourist traffic between our countries will open conditions for an aviation agreement and a regular air route between Warsaw and Tokyo, Malinowski pointed out.

Referring to the meeting with representatives of the Keidanren Malinowski stressed that it was extremely fruitful and that interest in cooperation with Poland was born in a very good atmosphere.

Malinowski accentuated that representatives of the Keidanren pinned high hopes on the upcoming debates of the Poland Japan and Japan-Poland economic committees during which they would like to discuss the directions in which Japanese capital would be engaged in Poland.

They also pointed to the need to solve the problem of Poland's foreign debt within the frame of the international monetary fund and the Paris Club, treating this as a creation of external conditions for the full normalization of financial-credit cooperation between the two countries and advantageous conditions for broadly understood economic cooperation. Our interlocutors also stressed—and we agreed with them—that Japan's economic engagement in Poland will also set the conditions for reaching positive solutions within the Paris club and the IMF, Malinowski said.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 0017 GMT on 8 March reports: "A Sejm delegation headed by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski ended its Japanese visit and returned home tonight."]

Grabowski Holds Cooperation Talks With PRC Envoy

LD0803114689 Warsaw PAP in English
2048 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—First deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Technological Progress at the Council of Ministers and minister-head of the office for scientific-technological progress and implementation Zbigniew Grabowski received today ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Poland Pei Yuanying.

During the meeting they discussed some issues connected with scientific-technological cooperation recently promoted by the days of Polish Science and Technology in Beijing.

The talk's important topic were the preparations for the forthcoming 5th session of the Polish-Chinese committee for economic, trade and scientific-technological cooperation to be held in Beijing next month.

Olechowski Meets Iraqi Foreign Ministry Envoy

JN0903194489 Baghdad INA in Arabic
1748 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar (INA)—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received Nizar Hamdun, Iraqi Foreign Ministry under-secretary, here today.

During the meeting, the Iraqi official conveyed a verbal message from Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, to his Polish counterpart, dealing with bilateral relations.

Nizar Hamdun arrived in Warsaw yesterday on a several-day visit to Poland, during which he will hold talks with several officials there aimed at promoting bilateral relations.

Cypryniak Addresses Report-Back Meeting in Radom

LD0203231489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Here is a report from the PZPR report-back conference in Radom.

[Unidentified correspondent] The resolution of the 10th Central Committee plenum; trade union and political pluralism; the roundtable in the regional dimension; socialism—but what kind?—democracy for those who can make sensible use of it; the role of the party in the workplace; what should be done to have more in our wallets and on the shop shelves; these are only some of the subjects of the many hours' discussion at the voivodship party report-back conference in Radom. It was attended by 278 delegates, representing the almost 38,000-strong party organization. [passage omitted]

Kazimierz Cypryniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, took a stance on some of the matters raised in the discussion. He said that the economic reform required reconstruction of the whole system; new rules of the economic game. It would have to be learned how to reconcile the interests of different social groups and give the word work an importance and significance worthy of the tradition of the Polish working class.

New Society of Industrialists Registered

AU0803103789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 7

[Report by Jan Markusz: "Let Us Reach an Accord, in Other Words, Let Us Make a Deal"]

[Text] "On the basis of Article 21 of the 27 October 1932 directive by the President of the Republic of Poland—the Law on Associations—the association known as the Society of Industrialists is hereby included in the office of the City of Warsaw register of associations and societies under the number 1220 Warsaw, 31 January 1989."

That is how the registration certificate of a new social organization, the Society of Industrialists, reads. The society, whose headquarters is in Warsaw, is a voluntary organization. It describes itself as an "organization of people who are industrialists or who are on the way to becoming industrialists." This includes the managerial cadres of industry and of other branches of the national economy.

The objectives set by the society include the integration of industrialists, the improvement of economic structures and the functioning thereof, and a better implementation of economic programs.

The society held its inaugural meeting at the Ozarow cable factory on 27 February, which Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski attended. The meeting devoted a lot of attention to working conditions in enterprises. It said that not even the latest legal regulations and economic-financial instruments can guarantee steady self-financing by economic units. This makes it difficult for managements to reach financial decisions, especially on the subject of wages. In the meantime, the country is being inundated by a wave of wage disputes and strikes, in the face of which factory managements are powerless. The meeting called for government support.

Replying to this postulate, Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski said: "I suggest we reach an accord with industrialists and 'business' people. In other words, let us make a deal. The basis of this deal is as follows: The government has started and intends to continue to follow its philosophy that consists of three words—confidence in enterprises. That means confidence in managers and in their moral and professional qualifications, and the recognition that these are people capable of coordinating the interests of work forces and society in a professional manner."

The deputy premier said the legal status of managers of state enterprises will soon be defined. The manager of a good enterprise should earn a lot, and we must see to it that society accepts this.

"The government's intention is to achieve a stable economic law," J. Patorski continued. "This will enable enterprise managers to undertake future-oriented activity, and at the same time will let them display their managerial know-how. This should take place in concert with the workers' self-management bodies and trade unions, whose principles of functioning are being discussed at the 'roundtable'."

Speaking about the duties of enterprise managers, the deputy premier stressed that regardless of the present difficulties, they must take management over enterprises into their own hands to a greater extent than they have done so far. A manager must have real authority, not just formal authority, in his enterprise.

New Polish-FRG Friendship Society Established

AU0103133389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Rudolf Hoffmann: "Polish-FRG Society Created"]

[Text] There was a meeting in Warsaw of representatives of various Polish social groups interested in expanding contacts between the PPR and FRG, organized by the Council of Friendship with Nations group responsible for contacts with German-Polish friendship societies in the FRG. The meeting decided to establish a Polish-FRG Society.

The society will provide information about Poland; propagate Polish history, science, and language; and cooperate with FRG circles and citizens interested in expanding relations with our country.

The society is chaired by Dr Wladyslaw Markiewicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Other members are: Jan Barcz, Jan Goczol, Elzbieta Michalowska, Tadeusz Myslik, Bishop Janusz Narzynski, Marian Podkowinski, and Sejm Deputy Ryszard Wojna.

The provisional board of the society will work out a draft program and statute.

Dr Markiewicz told TRYBUNA LUDU: "The idea to set up this society appeared simultaneously among various social circles in Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, and other Polish cities. It was suggested by scientists, people of culture, and journalists. It is a spontaneous reply, as it were, to a certain social initiative. Since we are supposed to aim toward a so-called joint European home, we should now aim toward rapprochement and a better knowledge of each other's language, culture, and history; especially on the basis of existing bilateral decisions and the 7 December 1970 PPR-FRG treaty to normalize relations. That is the new society's general task. The point is keep German-Polish rapprochement in our field of vision by means of concrete activity."

Kohl Comments on Economic Ties With Poland

AU0703182189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Mar 89 pp 1, 6

[Dispatch by Daniel Lulinski, permanent correspondent in Bonn: "Chancellor Kohl Replies to Questions From TRYBUNA LUDU: 'I View Reaching Agreement With Poland Very Sympathetically'"]

[Excerpt] On Friday, 3 March, I asked Chancellor Kohl three questions on topics of current interest. Is it true, as is reported in today's press, that the talks between the head of the FRG Government and his principal ministers on agreeing forms of economic and financial cooperation with Poland have ended in a fiasco? Is there disagreement within the federal government over policy toward Poland? Has the chancellor's visit to Poland really been called into questions once again?

I asked Helmut Kohl to provide answers to these topical questions. Although our meeting—we were a group of foreign correspondents accredited in Bonn—took the form of a private conversation, the chancellor, who appeared to be expecting questions of this kind, advised that the "Polish part" of his answers could be quoted.

This is what he said to TRYBUNA LUDU: "What Friday's press has been writing about the ministerial round of talks on Polish topics involving Foreign Minister Genscher and Finance Minister Stoltenberg and representatives of the ministries of internal affairs and the economy ending in a supposed fiasco is absolute nonsense." This is a hysterical reaction on the part of some circles in Bonn. The meeting between the chancellor and several ministers was not meant to result in any decisions being made, but was to be a preparatory discussion in anticipation of various questions being raised at a meeting of the cabinet. (However, the chancellor did not say that these important questions concerning economic relations with Poland would be examined by the FRG Government).

Helmut Kohl went on to say that the talks with Poland are proceeding positively, but that the two sides need to move closer together before the questions that still remain open can be settled. However, he added "there is no pressure of time." "A date for my visit to Warsaw will only be fixed once the talks end successfully (and this particularly applies to the talks between the personal plenipotentiaries of the PPR premier and the FRG chancellor). After all, I would have to sign certain documents or accords with our Polish partners. I, for my part, do not see the slightest reason why the visit should not take place. On the contrary, I view the whole question of relations with Poland very sympathetically, and I am an optimist."

Those who say something different in Bonn (this also applies to the press) are deliberately misinforming public opinion. Talking about detailed aspects of progress in discussions with Poland, the FRG chancellor mentioned a readiness on the part of the Polish side to expand the teaching of German, which the chancellor views against the background of Poland's interest in contacts and cooperation with the EEC, where German is one of the main languages for communicating and business.

In a lengthier statement that put things in a historical context, Helmut Kohl spoke about agreement with Poland being important for FRG policy in the way in which it such agreement was previously important with France and with Israel. "We are interested in 'the other Germans' being remembered in Poland, in, for example, there being a memorial plaque that commemorates the Germans who dies at Auschwitz, those like Colonel Stauffenberg who made an attempt on Hitler's life at the Wolf's Lair near Ketrzyn, or Krzyzowa in Silesia, where those who opposed Hitler met." He also spoke about the need to open a new chapter in relations with Poland with a view to encouraging cooperation and exchanges between members of the younger generations. Helmut Kohl concluded: "This is the spirit in which I am acting and I will do so in Poland."

Replying to other questions, Chancellor Kohl stressed that he was optimistic about prospects for settling the questions that remain in relations with Poland, which he views in the context of building confidence in Europe, and Europe is, after all, much bigger than the area covered by the 12 members of the EEC. [passage omitted]

Glemp on Relations With Holy See, Roundtable

AU0703114889 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-26 Feb 89 pp 1, 13

[Report by Antoni Kaplinski on interview given by Polish Primate Jozef Glemp, in Rome on 23 February: "The Roundtable Is An Historic Event"]

[Text] Questioned by A. Kaplinski about the purpose of his visit to the Eternal City, Cardinal Glemp replied: "I come to Rome periodically to see to various church affairs in the curia of Rome, in its congregations and offices. There is another reason for the current visit: Almost the entire membership of the Primate's Social Council, including its chairman Wladyslaw Findeisen, has come to Rome—that is, about 20 people altogether. From 23 through 25 February, the council will meet representatives of the Polish emigre Catholic intelligentsia. The meeting will also be attended by rectors from Polish Catholic missions all over the world."

Kaplinski: Why is the Social Council holding its meeting in Rome?

Cardinal Glemp: Rome is the capital of Catholicism. The pope, St Peter's successor, is a Pole. Holding the session here, close to where St Peter and St Paul are buried, here, where the heart of the Catholic Church beats so clearly, and where all its problems come together and meet, will undoubtedly enable the members of the council to get a better idea of the problems that affect the church as a whole. It also makes it possible to meet the Polish emigre intelligentsia, to meet the "Polish Rome," a term whose use is quite warranted. Here in Rome there are a whole series of institutions that have great, glorious traditions. During the current term of office the Social Council has issued several very good and important documents. The representatives of the council also wish to share their thoughts and opinions with the representatives of the Polish emigre community that they will meet. This is the first time that a meeting of this kind will take place.

Kaplinski: The meeting in Rome is taking place at a historic time, one that sees important social changes taking place in Poland, and this dialogue between two communities of the Polish intelligentsia may provide assistance in solving our Polish problems.

Cardinal Glemp: Yes, we expect this dialogue, this exchange of ideas, to be very beneficial.

Asked by A. Kaplinski to assess the social situation in Poland in light of the changes that are taking place and the roundtable session, Cardinal Glemp replied: "I think that the roundtable is a great event and represents an enormous achievement. We should feel gratitude toward those who made the meeting possible. It required a considerable amount of courage. As for the church, our representatives were very much involved. The talks are often very detailed, and this may cause them to drag on. The session should producer general pointers indicating concrete actions. The transition from discussion to action, the transition to deeds, should not be put off. It should be stated once again that the roundtable is a historic event!

Kaplinski: The Polish public, and the very many Catholics who are members of it, have displayed an interest in the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See. What stage have the talks on this subject reached? During his third pilgrimage to the fatherland, the Holy Father said that "the church in Poland should prepare the faithful and society for this event," and this appears to have been accomplished. Society would receive such a decision very favorably at the present time. European public opinion also shows keen interest in seeing the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See.

Cardinal Glemp: As far as I know, the work being conducted by the various commissions is at an advanced stage. Far-reaching progress has been made and in a bold way that envisages the full normalization of relations, that is, the development of appropriate wishes on the part of society and the church. It is hard for me to say precisely when diplomatic relations will be established, but the situation really is evolving in a direction that would allow this to be finalized. The church and those of the faithful who understand the church have never put obstacles in the way of the Holy See and the episcopate finding a genuine expression of recognition with respect to the state as it is. I am hopeful, although I am not going to predict any dates.

Kaplinski: When can one expect final talks to take place between representatives of the Holy See and the PPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the subject of establishing diplomatic relations?

Cardinal Glemp: The roundtable and the difficult issues that are being examined at it do not create the kind of climate that would permit negotiations to be started on another very important area. This individual set of issues should be dealt with before a start can be made on other matters.

Kaplinski: I think that, once far-reaching economic reforms have been instituted, some kind of coordinated assistance will be required from developed countries if the Polish economy is to embark on the right path of development. Some people have been talking about the need for something along the lines of the Marshall Plan. During your talks with many of the diplomats and politicians who have visited Poland, have you received the impression that there is an understanding of Polish economic problems?

Cardinal Glemp: Yes, they do show an understanding of and interest in the problems of the Polish economy, but I cannot say whether they are interested in concrete assistance.

Daily Provides Commentaries on Vienna Meetings

'Dynamism' of CSCE

AU1003174489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1655 GMT 10 Mar 89

["For a Europe of Confidence, For a Europe Free of Weapons"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/03/1989—The fact that only one and a half months after the conclusion of the all-European meeting in Vienna two negotiating fora concomitantly hold proceedings on disarmament and on confidence-building is a proof of the dynamism imprinted by the CSCE—a Vienna dispatch signed by D. Tinu and published by SCINTEIA on 10 March shows, pointing out that the foreign ministers' presence at the opening session bespeaks the attention and importance the participating states attach to the event.

The addresses made during the ministerial meeting had not only a common assessment on the significance of the event but also a specific working character shown in the proposals advanced. In this respect, the position and considerations of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu set forth from the meeting's rostrum, and Romania's concrete proposals that added to the other countries' are contributions apt to provide the framework for constructive negotiations conducive to defining effective disarmament measures in Europe.

Noting that Romania's appeal to start from realities can also be found in the positions expressed by other participating states, SCINTEIA shows among other things: The military realities in Europe are of great concern to the peoples on the continent. Though some steps have been taken lately, the arms race continues especially through the measures adopted for the modernization and improvement of the nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. It is the reason for which Romania has stressed that the world's cardinal problem, "the problem of problems" in Europe is the halting of the arms race and a passage to effective disarmament which should include all types of weapons. It is true that, in accordance with the mandate agreed upon, the Vienna negotiations concentrate on conventional armed forces. Equally true is the fact that nuclear weapons are part and parcel of European and world realities, the most threatening one.

Of the wide range of assessments on the immediate and future targets of disarmament, the negotiations brought to the fore the common remark that Europe is at crossroads, and the states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act are confronted with a tremendously high responsibility: to stop the "apocalyptic race of arming."

The answers given during the meeting are convergent toward achieving stability and security by lowering the level of arming. The Vienna debates did not outline a significant consensus on such an objective. Yet it is encouraging that the concrete proposals advanced by highly different countries—Warsaw Treaty, neutral, non-aligned and NATO countries—foreshadow very drastic cuts in conventional armed forces and armaments being close to what Romania has proposed since long and reiterated, in Vienna, namely their 50 per cent reduction till the year 2000.

In reference to the existing asymmetries which favour one or another of the Warsaw Treaty or NATO countries, the newspaper shows that they should be corrected and eliminated through the measures to be taken during the negotiations. Romania's position, which is similar to that of a greater number of participating states, underlines that action should be taken so as to ensure a military equilibrium at ever lower levels of arming, and the states should have but the bare necessity of armed forces and armaments for defence. Certainly, as pointed out in several addresses, this calls for the cuts to be made proportionally to the states' arming degree, that is the ones having a stronger potential should apply a higher percentage of reduction.

A sign of political will to advance toward real disarmament is also the similitude of positions regarding the priority which should be given to reducing the armaments with a greater offensive capacity like tanks, large-calibre artillery, armoured cars. Along this line Romania just like other countries underscores the demand that the participating states should undertake through unilateral pledges not to use the financial means released after the cuts for other military purposes and to channel them toward economic and social sectors.

In connection with the first negotiating forum on conventional disarmament which, in this phase, gathers representatives of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states, Romania pointed out that they are not negotiations between two military blocs but between "independent and sovereign states, on the basis of full equality". Romania, like other participating countries, considers this only a temporary arrangement, with the remaining possibility that, subsequently, the neutral and non-aligned countries join the negotiations.

Assessing that the negotiations to be attended by the 35 states on confidence and security building in Europe benefit by a good experience, SCINTEIA writes: The proposals Romania and the other participating states advanced to the Vienna meeting refer precisely to the building-up of growing confidence, to greater foreseeability and effective limitation of the conditions which would allow for a surprise attack or widescale offensive actions.

Underscoring the great responsibility incumbent on the two negotiating fora in Vienna, SCINTEIA shows in conclusion: on the understanding of such a responsibility and on all the participating states' political will to reach

such agreements as to meet the European peoples' interests and aspirations depends Europe's ability to remove the armour which straitjacketed collaboration, understanding and detente on this continent.

'Vital Importance' of Talks

AU1103174089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1128 GMT 11 Mar 89

["To Ensure Peace and Security on Europe"—AGER PRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/03/1989—In a commentary devoted to the Vienna negotiations on the conventional armed forces in Europe and on the endorsement of new confidence-building and security measures in the continent, daily SCINTEIA stresses that the issues approached are of vital importance for the destiny of the peoples in this part of the world. The commentary shows:

Romania, that has made of general and complete disarmament an essential target of its foreign policy, has made this time too, its full contribution, along with other participant states, to the advancement of stands and proposals of concrete measures to ensure the success of the negotiations. The participants in the meeting, public opinion as well, have received with great interest the considerations and proposals of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the issues of disarmament, confidence-building and security in Europe. They attest once more to the steadiness in which Romania works for ensuring in Europe an atmosphere congenial for peaceful work and collaboration among all peoples in the continent.

International developments have justified the warning of the Romanian president that the shy steps taken lately toward detente are far from entitling euphoria, considering that the arms race has not slowed down, showing instead signs of a new escalation, marked by the modernization and sophistication of the nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons.

In consideration of these realities that cannot be shunned, Romania, its president regard disarmament as a unitary process, steadily campaigning for the issues of eliminating the mass destruction weapons—nuclear, chemical and other kinds—to be regarded as closely associated, in order to avoid the concentration of the military power in several centres that should impose their domination.

The measures of conventional disarmament too have an important place within the unitary process of disarmament promoted by Romania. As shown also in the considerations and proposals advanced to the meeting in Vienna, the substantive cut in such weapons, especially in Europe, is necessary both because through the improvement they have went through in recent years they near mass destruction weapons, and especially because it is in this continent that is to be found the biggest concentration of weapons.

The issues of conventional disarmament in Europe has been since long the subject-matter of Romanian preoccupations. Romania has maintained the necessity that the states in the two military alliances agree on successive measures of reduction of their arms and troops—with a corresponding cut in the military expenditures. This stand has found, as is known, practical materialization: For years on end Romania endorsed measures of reduction and then freezing of military expenditures. Widely reverberated was the decision endorsed in November 1986 to unilaterally cut by 5-10 per cent the conventional weapons, troops and military expenditures which was an initiative standing also for an example to be taken by other countries as well.

As for the negotiations on the conventional armed forces, worth mentioning are the proposals that the two military alliances reduce their effectives by 50 per cent by the end of the century, the reductions having to be made in two stages and commensurate with the countries' degree of arming, meaning that the states with bigger military force have to make bigger cuts. An essential facet of the reductions is the covenanting of well-balanced, roughly equal ceilings, so as to remove the existing imbalances and asymmetries. The reductions are expected to proceed under efficient control.

Romania, proposes that the military expenditures too, be halved, and the financial resources thus released by used for peaceful purposes only, while in a subsequent period, the channelling of the respective means to various economic sectors should be stipulated in specific accords that should be subject to control measures. Parallel to the reduction of the weapons in existence, of the troops and military expenditures, the narrowing down should be started also of the weapon production, with the dismantlement of some military enterprises or their streamlining to civil production.

As regards the negotiations for adopting new confidence- and security-building measures, Romania appreciates that the document of the Stockholm Conference is a good base to start from in attaining the targets of the new negotiations, in spite of the fact that the measures covenanted in Stockholm did not contribute to lessening the intensity and expansion of the military actions on the continent or to reducing the capacity of launching an armed attack. That is why, in Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's opinion, the negotiations in Vienna should mark a new stage, by passing from declaring the goal of building a greater confidence to narrowing the possibilities of an attack by surprise or of large-scale offensive actions.

Romania presented a series of specific proposals, considering that the new confidence- and security-building measures should include, among other things, the narrowing of the intensity and area of military actions, the

renunciation of those activities leading to tension and lack of confidence, the limitation of the possibilities of broad offensive actions, the establishment of measures able to prevent nuclear accidents, etc.

Presenting the two sets of proposals, Romania emphasized the necessity that the negotiations in the domain organically fit in the broad target of general and total disarmament, the centrepiece of which is nuclear disarmament. This requires the renunciation of the production of nuclear and chemical weapons, of any mass destruction weapons, the cessation of the modernization and improvement of atomic armaments, the intensification of the efforts for freeing European continent of such weapons, which calls—in Romania's opinion, for the creation of a special forum of negotiations for nuclear armaments in Europe.

The finality of the negotiations, of the measures to be covenanted should be—as socialist countries underscored several times—the creation of the conditions to pass to the simultaneous dismantlement of the Warsaw Treaty and of the NATO.

Alongside of concrete proposals, Romania also presented in Vienna some principled reasons regarding the framework of the negotiations and their significance. So, Romania emphasized that, although the current stage of the negotiations on conventional armed forces are attended only by the states member of the two political-military alliances, the negotiations are not held between the aforementioned military blocs, but among independent and sovereign states—and the possibility exists that, in the future, the negotiations be attended by neutral and non-aligned states so that all the participants in the CSCE process can have a say.

In this way Romania's consistent stand was restated according to which the major international questions, especially those regarding peace and security, are of vital interest for all states, therefore all of them have the right to directly participate in the analysis and settlement of the questions.

The presentation of the Romanian stands at the Vienna meeting occasioned the reassertion of the great truth President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized many times: In the peace- and disarmament-related questions, in all the great contemporary questions, Europe cannot fulfil its mission if it is not united in the diversity of its social systems, philosophical and political conceptions, of the free and independent nations which should act for security, disarmament and understanding, for collaboration, for economic and social progress.

Romania's proposals at Vienna represent a new and telling expression of the wish to contribute to the efforts for attaining those noble desiderata, with the firm conviction that such a course corresponds to the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples on our continent, of the whole mankind.

Delegate Addresses UNCTAD on Protectionism

AU0903200489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Romanian Address at UNCTAD Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/3/1989—Taking the floor during the spring session of the UNCTAD Council on the issues of protectionism, in Geneva, the Romanian representative pointed out that in spite of the commitments taken at the launch of the Uruguay Round in point of not introducing further commercial restrictions running counter to the GATT stipulations and eliminating the existing ones, not only that a reduction of the obstacles confronting the exports of the developing countries has failed to show up, but quite the contrary, further protectionist measures have been applied to those countries. The commercial restrictions applied often trespass the basic GATT norms, and first of all the principle of nondiscrimination. Continued is the blameful practice of applying commercial restrictions on political grounds, noneconomic criteria are used to try and justify the refuse to grant most favoured nation treatment or the generalized customs preferences.

The Romanian representative underscored the need for firm work with a view to counteracting protectionism, liberalizing international trade, eliminating the use of political conditions from the international economic relations and effectively ensuring special, more favourable treatment to the developing countries in the area of the commercial policy measures.

Dizdarevic Trip Canceled Due to Situation

LD1003172189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The official friendly visit of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Brazil, Uruguay, and Senegal has been canceled at the Yugoslav initiative due to obligations of the president of the Presidency, resulting from the present circumstances in the country and the activities of the SFRY Presidency, it was announced today by the spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. This announcement was made in reply to a question asked during a regular news conference.

The highest-ranking representatives of the above countries accepted the cancellation with full understanding and expressed a desire for agreeing upon new dates of these visits at a suitable time, added the spokesman.

Conditions Said Not Ripe for Full Israeli Ties

TA1303114589 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Mar 89 p 2

["Exclusive" report by Hayim Tal in Yugoslavia]

[Excerpt] "Yugoslavia is interested in developing cultural, economic, and tourism ties with Israel. The conditions, however, are not yet ripe for setting up full diplomatic relations between the two countries." This statement was made yesterday by Branko Mikulic, outgoing president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, in a conversation with the HA'ARETZ correspondent. According to Mikulic, the new Yugoslav Government headed by Ante Markovic that will take office on Thursday is not expected to change the policy.

The conversation took place near the stormy Kosovo region, in a meeting with Eastern and Western journalists. Mikulic hinted that in Yugoslavia, as well as in Israel, there are pressures to solve nationalistic problems by military methods. The government, however, is fighting these pressures and prefers negotiations. "The Israelis will also be unable to solve the Palestinian problem through military means. You must accept the Palestinians as a neighboring state," said Mikulic, adding that in his opinion, there is no way to avoid an international conference and a Palestinian state. [passage omitted]

Mikulic Speaks on Reform, Foreign Relations

LD1203183989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Kopaonik, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—During the implementation of the radical reforms of the economic and political systems in Yugoslavia, efforts will be made primarily to ensure the independence of the enterprises without any strong state influence, to ensure economic operations in accordance with market criteria, and at the same time to ensure an equal status of the enterprises under all forms of ownership. Profit is the ultimate objective.

In a nutshell, this was the explanation given today by Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council (FEC), on the substance of the economic reform in Yugoslavia. He was speaking at a news conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists in Kopaonik taking part in the traditional world meeting of journalist skiers.

Foreign journalists were especially interested in the political situation in Kosovo. The solution of this problem—Mikulic stated categorically—depends precisely on the implementation of the economic and social reform, and there are no other alternatives. Answering a question by a Danish journalist on whether the crisis in Kosovo is an incident or a reflection of the situation in the country, Mikulic explained in a lengthy answer what kind of mistakes had been made in the province.

We had agreed to import textbooks from Albania, as a neighboring country, and we even employed their professors for work at Pristina University. For years, young Albanians in Kosovo were indoctrinated in this way, said Mikulic, recalling the 1981 events and the demands that Kosovo should become a republic. Albanian separatists and nationalists answered the efforts to have this crisis resolved democratically, Mikulic continued, by stepping up their activity and revealing their enemy plans against Yugoslavia.

However, Mikulic added, we have taken measures to settle scores once and for all with Albanian nationalism and separatism and to frustrate their activity from all positions. In this context, he drew attention to the misrepresentation of constitutional changes in Serbia, stressing that they did not threaten the autonomy of the provinces but ensured the functioning of Serbia as a republic.

In this context a journalist from Slovenia asked whether special measures in Kosovo were required "to remove these illogicalities" from the Serb Constitution. Having expressed his surprise that this kind of question was coming from a Yugoslav journalist, Mikulic explained that special measures in province should not be tied up with the process of constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia. These changes only provided the occasion for Albanian nationalists to reveal their intentions. There is no country in the world said Mikulic, which in a case like that would not have introduced special measures.

Manifestation of nationalism in other parts of the country, stressed Mikulic, should not be tied up with the situation in Kosovo, he said, but with shortcomings in the political and economic system in individual parts of the country.

There are disagreements in Yugoslavia as far as the idea of allowing the activity of several political parties is concerned, but the official policy standpoint on that is negative, said Mikulic answering the question by an AP agency journalist. Yugoslavia's experience with the multiparty system in the past is poor. That system was one of the causes of the fratricidal war, explained Mikulic. Pluralism of political interests can be expressed through the Socialist Alliance, he added and drew attention once again to the fact that Yugoslavia is a multinational community for which a multiparty system would represent a danger of fragmentation on a nationality basis.

Journalists from Israel asked why diplomatic relations between the two countries do not exist. Mikulic replied that the reasons for which the relations with Israel had been broken off some time ago have not been removed, but he added that this did not mean that economic, cultural, and other forms of cooperation could not be advanced. He also said that the time had come for Israel to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Answering the question by an FRG journalist on the plan to introduce compulsory visas for the Yugoslavs, Mikulic expressed his fear that this could harm good relations between Yugoslavia and the FRG, in view of the fact that 600,000 Yugoslavs and their family members live there.

Commenting subsequently on the claim that consumer goods from Slovenia are being boycotted in Serbia, Mikulic expressed his conviction that what we are talking about are individual and rare reactions which are not met with approval.

After meeting the journalists, Branko Mikulic visited the Sopocani and Studenica monasteries.

Suvar Chairs LCY Reform Commission in Kumrovec

LD0903210389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Kumrovec, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—It is expected that an all-party discussion on reforming the LC will open by the end of March, at the same time as the LCY Central Committee decides on convening a congress, said the expanded session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Preparing the Basis for LCY Transformation. The commission started its 2 days of work in Kumrovec today.

The commission, chairmed by Stipe Suvar, discussed a working document entitled "The Basic Orientations of the LCY Transformation," which will be proposed to the LCY Central Committee as a basis for public debate among its members.

The working document (38 pages) stresses that LC reform is a process that should be developed in three directions. First, critical reconsideration of the previous program and strategic LCY orientations, out of which "a renewed concept of socialism" should emerge. Second, critical reconsideration of the previous concept and practice of the ideo-political vanguard role of the LCY, with the aim of adjusting the LCY role to the renewed concept of socialism, and especially to a democratic political system of socialist self-management. Third, critical analysis of the previous principles and forms of LCY organization. The working document develops these key questions further in three chapters.

Opening the session, Stipe Suvar stressed that the document will be open for public debate, that is, it will formulate problems and questions to which answers should be given and that it will contain alternative proposals regarding adopting stances. At the very beginning of the discussion several key topics were focused upon. Among them is the issue of the content of socialism, for which the LCY will fight, that is, what is meant by "renewal of socialism."

Afterward several speakers advocated more specific relations between the LC and the state as well as a concept of pluralism, especially political pluralism. A polemical discussion was held, especially about the question of relations between the LCY as a whole and its parts in the republics and provinces. Ferid Muhic initiated this topic, and reviewed a part of the text which notes that the "multinational structure of our country demands the national legality of each constitutive element of the LCY." However, Muhic stressed that the LC is called on to become once more, especially in moments of crisis, a power that will give a new vision and realization of "feeling of the whole" to Yugoslav society. Otherwise, he said, if the LC does not touch the republican, etatistic, and nationally divided being of the LC, its role will be reduced to the role of a "retired person" left to the "tender care of relatives, in this case the republics." [passage omitted]

Ivica Mastruko expressed the opinion that the LC should be primarily changed in accordance with the changed social condition. In order to reaffirm the LC, it is not enough to call on "renewal" or change of forms for activities. For that reason, according to Mastruko, the LC should "think about its transformation in wider terms than the Marxist concept." On the basis of such a view, Mastruko concluded that the LC will develop toward "the alliance of communist organizations, in which different communist options could exist." Mastruko did not agree with Muhic's view on the question of the relation between the whole and parts of the LC. He said that today we do not in fact have "nationally legitimate" Leagues of Communists in republics but "republican and provincial legality." [sentence as received] [passage omitted]

LCY Central Committee Presidium Meets 6-7 Mar

LD1003145589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium, at a session held 6-7 March 1989

and presided over by Stipe Suvar, discussed activities by LC members and organization in the SAWP. According to today's report from the session it was assessed that organized socialist force's commitment to the economic and political reform of our society dictates the need for an overall reform of the SAWP. This should take place in parallel with LCY reform. Without a simultaneous and comprehensive transformation of both the LC and SAWP, the desired changes will not be achieved. In other words the transformation of one organized force cannot come about while the other remains on the sidelines waiting and accepting without the concept for its own transformation. The LC is neither imposing nor directly implementing the reform of the SAWP, but the members, organizations, and organs of the LC are obliged to struggle within the SAWP for new content and forms for its activity within the democratization of the whole political system and above all the democratization of the socio-political organizations themselves.

Toward this end, the main task of the organizations and organs of the LC is to advocate, based on the commitments of the LCY conference on these issues, the establishing of a corresponding contemporary action program in the SAWP.

The Presidium also considered the ideopolitical preparations for the forthcoming LCY Congress which should be held before the end of this year. It is stressed that preparations for the congress should be based on the LCY Conference standpoint on the reforms which are the basis for a democratic way out of the crisis in Yugoslav society. Therefore, it is necessary to look comprehensively and objectively at the essential characteristics of the current situation and to clearly establish a strategy of social changes and within this a new role for the LCY in the conditions of a market economy and a state with the rule of law.

The main issues to be discussed at the congress should be looked for in the everyday conditions and prospects for the future development of our socialist, federal, and democratic self-managing society. A proposal will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee to adopt the social reform and the transformation of the LC as the main topics of the congress. Is awareness growing that without essential changes in the LC's social position and the way it fulfills its leading ideopolitical role, that is, without reform within the LCY, it will be impossible to carry out either economic or political reform and its goal of destatizing social relations and democratizing all the spheres of social life? This implies that in the course of preparations for and the work on the congress, one must proceed from the fact that a reform of the LCY is primarily an integral part of a deep reform in the way society as a whole is organized. One of the tasks of the LCY congress, therefore, will be to draw up an ideopolitical platform for a new constitution.

The activity in the whole LCY in preparing for the congress as well as the congres itself must proceed in a political atmosphere in which the entire LCY membership would be able to make contributions and display its initiative.

It was stressed that the congress should not concentrate solely on a program for overcoming the current crisis. Events both in the world, at home, and within socialism as a world process, require the LCY to provide answers to the question of what kind of socialism do we want to develop in Yugoslavia at the threshold of the 21st century and how further to develop production forces and relations in Yugoslav society on the basis of socialist self-management and the type of democracy it generates.

The Presidium was informed about a draft proposal for transforming the LCY which is shortly to be submitted to the LCY Central Committee and afterward for consideration within the party.

The Presidium also considered a plan of preparations for a session of the LCY Central Committee to deal with intranational relations and the development of a Yugoslav Federation. It was agreed on the way in which the central and provincial LC committees and the LCY Central Committee Presidium itself should conduct a debate and formulate stances on the forms and nature of self-management-based political pluralism in our society as part of activities in reforming the political system and the LCY.

Slovenia's Kucan Sends Letters to LC Leaders

AU0603180889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Invitation to Talks"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Feb—The last session of the Slovene LC Central Committee (held prior to the 21st LCY Central Committee Plenum) repeated the proposal that the LC leadership in the republics and provinces discuss and clarify some contentious issues. Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, stated that he had already sent a letter to all LC central and provincial committees, but had not receive a reply. He has still not had a reply, and in view of the current situation, we carry the text of Milan Kucan's letter in full:

To Central and Provincial LC Committees:

Respected comrades,

At its 24th session (held on 23 January 1989), which was devoted to the preparations for the 20th LCY Central Committee session, the Slovene LC Central Committee concluded that there are (great) differences in the views and assessments of the current situation and events in Yugoslav society between certain sectors—the LC leaderships. These differences and disagreements, which have been seen by the public—especially since the 20th LCY Central Committee session—as a conflict, are not,

unfortunately, being resolved in a normal way, as interparty questions, but are to a great extent being passed onto society and are shaking and destabilizing the system as a whole. The most essential and, to a great extent, damaging result of this are frequent "media wars" waged by some newspapers. What is happening is that instead of objectively reporting on some issues and views, the newspapers are starting uncultured polemics; instead of presenting facts they are presenting assumptions or are ignoring the issues that are being discussed; some individuals are being ascribed the views they did not express, or some views are being taken out of context, and in this way, their meaning changed; an attempt is being made to present disagreements between certain people as inadequate attitudes toward some peoples and communities, and so forth. At the time of a general crisis which is adversely affecting people's confidence and optimism, all this is also affecting the political situation even more and is hindering the work of the LC itself.

We in the LC of Slovenia are of the opinion that it is high time to mobilize all forces in order to speed up and facilitate the process of reforms. If we do not make progress in reorganizing and restructuring the economy and without the democratization of the political system, we will not be able to overcome the crisis. The condition for this is at least a minimum amount of confidence of the people. However, this will not happen if the minimum, necessary confidence in the LCY does not exist. To us, it appears that the Communists do not have the right to pass onto society their internal disagreements, and through this, divert people's attention and their activities away from essential issues.

This is why the Slovene LC Central Committee favors the initiative according to which the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee would prepare discussions with the LC leadership of other republics and provinces. In these talks, we would exchange views and stands on the political situation in the country, establish what we have in common and what we disagree about, and try to resolve disagreements in this way, conditions for the successful work of the LCY Central Committee would be created.

If you agree with this initiative, we can decide on the date of a meeting later. Please, let us know about your view on the possibility of such a meeting.

Comradely regards!

Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Central Committee Presidium. Copy sent to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army

Most Accept Invitation

LD0603224789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium was today informed that all LC leaderships from the republics and from the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (there has still not been a reply from Kosovo) have accepted the written initiative from Milan Kucan, which was made at the insistence of the Slovene LC Central Committee, proposing that they meet individually with the Slovene leadership. At these meetings, questions and views will be considered in connection with the prospects for Yugoslavia, the implementation of the three reforms, the resolving of problems in Kosovo, and so on. It is a matter of a demand for the Slovene leadership, together with other leaderships, to make maximum efforts in seeking solutions and removing existing disagreements. Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee, asserts that quarrels and accusations do not lead anywhere and that the common task of all these talks must be to seek the common factors and all that links us together.

At its session today, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium decided that a public discussion should be opened on the document for the transformation of the LC, which will be published in the next issue of the Slovene edition of KOMUNIST. This is a question of a new vision of the LC and its role in the struggle for a new concept of socialism, based on the assumption that socialism should be constantly developed and adapted to new social relations, and not just defended from attacks.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium also considered the course of preparations for the Slovene LC Central Committee Plenum, which will also adopt stances on motivation in self-managing market socialism.

SFRY Assembly Adopts Budget Measures 9 Mar

LD1003131689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—With the adoption of nine laws on temporary measures, which will be valid pending the adoption of "regular" legal acts establishing the conditions for business operations this year, delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly today brought to an end a most unsuccessful 3-month phase of negotiation between the republics and provinces on these documents. In fact, temporary measures resulted because, even after 100 days of assembly procedure, republican and provincial interests (reference to laws regulating material relations) were not turned into common interests, so measures laid down by the SFRY Presidency had to come into force.

Before this, delegates unanimously adopted a law on the overall volume of federal budget expenditure for this year. The federal treasury, according to this regulation, which—after several months of negotiations—received the support of delegates from all federal units, will "weigh in" at 20, 637, 402.4 million [dinars], which is three times more than last year. However, this year's federal budget is nevertheless anti-inflationary because

the overall expenditure of the federation (the budget and extrabudgetary expenditure) will grow by about 44 percentage points slower than the average growth in income.

During the year, 18.2 thousand billion dinars will flow into federal funds from the federation's source revenue, while the remainder of 2.432 trillion will be provided by contributions from the republics and provinces.

The agreement of the republics and provinces on the overall volume of federal budget expenditure for this year was reached only in the third round of negotiations. The original proposed budget amounting to 20.9 trillion dinars was reduced by the Federal Government by about 300 billion dinars. In the meantime, while the assembly's negotiation procedure was being conducted—it lasted about 100 days—inflation has further reduced the budget. [passage omitted]

Compensation for the production and stocks of wheat, corn, sugarbeet and sugar, oil crops (soya), unprocessed oil, rice, tobacco, and fertilizers will amount to 20 percent. Compensation for the fattening of livestock, poultry, and fish; the breeding of thoroughbred breeding offspring in livestock-rearing; and for the production of milk and reserves of wheat, corn, sugar, rice, oil, tobacco, and meat will be 40 percent, while for stocks of table grapes and apples kept in refrigeration, wines in cellars, and stocks of meat in refrigeration it will be 10 percent. This economic measure will secure 403 billion dinars to meet obligations on the basis of compensation for part of the interest used in the past year.

Due to the difficult economic and financial position of the economy and banks in the territory if Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo, the repayment of some loans has been postponed by changes in the law. Postponed debts amount to 56.3 billion dinars, while the annual interest on debts would amount to 7.9 billion dinars. The law hitherto was very much more restrictive (15.7 billion dinars). Although the Federal Government offered statistics to the delegates about the economy and banks in these most indebted republics (the degree of indebtedness is 100 percent, and in the economy of Kosovo 151 percent), the delegates were unable to find "a common language" so this law was adopted as a temporary measure. [passage omitted]

The law on financing the federation also regulates the method of resolving the question of Lastovo and Vis. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces obliges the Federal Government to take measures, together with the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly and with the municipalities of Vis and Lastovo, designed to ensure that these municipalities put together a program for their more rapid socioeconomic development. The program would encompass measures that would create the conditions for the more rapid development of these municipalities, including those proposed measures that should be adopted within the competence of the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted]

Also accepted was a change to the law on the securing and use of funds to stimulate the technological developement of Yugoslavia which guarantees that 0.12 percent of the estimated social product of the whole economy will be earmarked for technology in the proportions of 0.08 percent from the federation and 0.04 percent from the republics. [passage omitted]

A law was also adopted on the overall amount of funds for the financing of the program of technical and technological modernization of federal organs for the period 1987-1990. This year 55.5 million dinars will be secured for these purposes from the federal budget, while changes to the law make it possible for these funds to be increased in the years ahead in keeping with the growth in inflation. [passage omitted]

The chamber today also adopted conclusions on implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo—identical to those adopted by the Federal Chamber at the end of last month.

These conclusions make it binding on the FEC to assess immediately, and within 1 month at the latest, what has been done to carry out the task within its own competence and on this basis immediately propose the establishment of the collective and personal responsibility of those who did not properly perform their task.

The same period in which to make an assessment of what has been done and to launch procedures to establish responsibility was also proposed to all the republican and provincial assemblies, especially the Assembly of Kosovo and the assemblies of the municipalities in the territory of this province.

It was recommended to the Kosovo Assembly that it immediately set in motion procedure for the establishment of the responsibility of the Provincial Social Attorney of Self-Management.

The SFRY Assembly instructed the FEC and other organs and organizations in the federation to immediately take all additional measures for the purpose of carrying out more effectively the tasks in the program, but also to consider the need for the adoption of legal measures that would create the conditions for the consistent implementation of the program on Kosovo.

The FEC is also obliged to propose in the shortest possible period of time the transformation of the Federal Fund for the Granting of Loans to the Undeveloped Regions and ensure an insight into the legal basis and purpose of the expenditure of the funds which the community is earmarking for Kosovo. It was recommended to the Kosovo Assembly that the funds that are brought together and pooled with the economy of Kosovo be primarily channeled into settlements where there is a mixed ethnic composition and where the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is taking place. The FEC is instructed to submit within 1 month to the

SFRY Assembly a report on the extent to which, to what purposes, and how the resources of the funds have been used in Kosovo in this midterm period.

The Federal Secretariat for the Legislature, Judiciary, and the Adminstration was tasked with analyzing, in cooperation with the republican and provincial secretariats, the legal attitude to the suspension from their jobs of all cadres working in state organs in Kosovo who provoke national hatred and interethnic conflicts.

The Federal Assembly instructed the competent organs and organizations in the federation to take measures as soon as possible, in cooperation with the organs in Serbia and Kosovo, for family planning in Kosovo.

The assembly assessed, among other things, that it wold be vital to form as soon as possible within the framework of the SAWPY Federal Conference, a body for the general political coordination of all subjects obliged to carry out the tasks in the program.

The SFRY Assembly also assessed that the adoption of the proposed changes to the Serbian Constitution would create more favorable conditions for the implementation of the basic aims of the program, so the Serbian Assembly and the province recommended that the changes to the constitution be adopted within the envisaged time-scale.

Tomsic Addresses Changing Political Situation

AU0603105589 Vienna PROFIL in German
6 Mar 89 p 56

[Interview with France Tomsic, chairman of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, by Frederick Brandt of WECO Press Service, Vienna: "Otherwise There Will Be Civil War"; date, place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Yugoslavia is burning, tanks are rolling in Kosovo, in Belgrade the "new Tito," Slobodan Milosevic, is hailed by hundreds of thousands of fanatical Serbs. Here in Slovenia you have founded a party in competition with the Communists. How is your life as party chairman in this dangerous situation?

Tomsic: Here in Slovenia clocks are running differently from Belgrade—at least until now. Of course, during the initial period of organizing the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, the usual games were played with us: surveillance by the secret police, bugged telephones, obstruction in legitimizing our party. However, I think that now the police are no longer observing us as intensively as in the past.

PROFIL: Nevertheless, the Communist Party of Slovenia will probably not be particularly happy about you.

Tomsic: When I look at the reactions from Ljubljana and Belgrade, there is a difference like day and night. While the rulers in Belgrade wish us to hell, here in Ljubljana one hears almost something like positive reactions. Even the Slovene Communist Party chief, Milan Kucan, thinks that the direction we have embarked upon is the right one.

PROFIL: Do you really think that a communist party will voluntarily give up its power?

Tomsic: They will not have any other choice. Today in Yugoslavia we all know that communism was nothing but a big mistake. In free elections the Communist Party would get one-third of the votes at the most here in Slovenia. And this would be a good result.

PROFIL: How do you estimate your own chances?

Tomsic: We know from opinion polls that about 70 to 80 percent of the population support the united Slovene opposition. If we run as the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, we expect about 35 percent of the votes. The Christian Democrats could count on about 40 percent—if they also form a party.

PROFIL: When are the first free elections in Slovenia scheduled?

Tomsic: They are to take place in spring 1990. We will run with our own platform or together with other opposition platforms. If, despite all promises, there are again no truly free elections, the entire opposition will boycott these elections. If we get a broad majority in free elections, our goal is clear: changes in the social system toward a democracy following the Western model.

PROFIL: And what will the Communists do?

Tomsic: They will develop toward Eurocommunism, like that found in Italy. Already, there is agreement on a great number of issues between us and the Slovene Communist Party. Concerning the topic of Kosovo, there are no differences at all between Milan Kucan and us.

PROFIL: But what happens if Serbian Communist Party chief Slobodan Milosevic is able to ensure "Yugoslavia's unity," as he tends to call this, with the help of the Army?

Tomsic: If the democratic freedoms are revoked, civil war will be unavoidable. Today the people do not tolerate everything; these times are gone forever. Now we are still conciliatory about those people who became guilty in the past. However, if repressions are started now, the attitude toward these people will change and the current conciliation will certainly not be practiced any longer. The resulting conditions would end with civil war.

PROFIL: The founding congress of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance was attended by almost 2,000 people. You yourself openly spoke about eliminating the monopoly of power of the LCY; thus, the fear of repressions is not very strong any more?

Tomsic: The regime has changed in the course of the past years; it has increasingly approached a civilized political way of action. What I have said in this interview alone would have resulted in 10 years in prison for me only a short time ago. The citizens have simply become more independent, and, therefore, revoking the democratic freedoms that have been granted would be the act of a madman, a disaster for the country and its people.

Smole 'Not To Apologize' for Ljubljana Meeting

AU1103183089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] The Celje Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance [SAWP] held a conference of its activists in Teharje today. Joze Smole, president of the SAWP Republican Conference, attended the morning session and spoke to the participants about the current political situation in Yugoslavia. Speaking about the two different concepts of the economic and political development of our state, he expressed his conviction that the democratic concept, advocated by Slovenia, must win eventually. This is a condition for the solving of the present economic and political crisis in our country, Joze Smole said. He also mentioned some of the latest aggravations in Yugoslavia. Here is a report by Miran Korosec:

Most of the opinions and questions posed by Celje front activists to Joze Smole referred to the sharp reaction to the recent meeting in the Cankar Hall, which in some parts of the country, especially in Serbia, was proclaimed to have been anti-Serbian and an expression of support for the Albanian irredentists in Kosovo. To the question of whether he dissociates himself from any of the statements made at this meeting, Smole replied with a resolute no.

The Cankar Hall meeting was plural [pluralen], every speaker expressed his own opinion, but what they all had in common was support for the statement against emergency measures and in favor of peace and coexistence in Kosovo. Nobody at the meeting said anything that could be assessed as creating an anti-Serbian feeling. Therefore, we have nothing to apologize for to anybody, and we will not apologize.

In connection with the demands voiced at the recent session of the SAWP Federal Conference that the Slovene leadership prepare an analysis of the events in the Cankar Hall, Smole said that the analysis will be prepared, but under the condition that other republican conferences prepare an equal analysis of the Belgrade, Novi Sad, and other meetings at which gross attacks on the Slovene people and the leadership of our republic were heard.

One also spoke about the meeting in the center of Ljubljana, announced by Solevic for 25 March. We resolutely oppose this imposition of the Chinese revolution in a Balkan fashion, for meetings do not solve anything; they only additionally aggravate the interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, Smole said. According to him, many Serbs who live in Ljubljana are also opposed to the meeting because they fear it will have an adverse influence on the position of the Serbs in Slovenia.

The Slovene leadership will therefore use all political means to ensure that the meeting may not take place. However, we must not act senselessly and impetuously. A Ljubljana meeting and any further aggravation of relations can be prevented only through patient talks presenting good arguments, and through a more objective informing of the public in other parts of the country about the true Slovene positions.

Breaking off the political dialogue, as well as economic, cultural, and other links with Slovenia that we have lately witnessed in some other parts of the country does not lead anywhere, Smole said. Only patient and democratic dialogue will bring us to a Yugoslav synthesis. Such a democratic synthesis, according to Smole, is a condition for solving the presently deep Yugoslav crisis and for our country being able to join modern European on an equal footing.

Novi Sad Official Expelled from LCY

LD0603150189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The party organization of the department for crime prevention of the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SUP] has decided that the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the party should be taken against Dobrivoje Panic, the former secretary of this city SUP. It was learned today that this decision was reached after several hours of discussion of a report by the old comrades' council about the ideopolitical responsibility of Dobrivoj Panic, because it was assessed that he, a member of the LCY, had worked against the ideopolitical platform and statutory principles of the LCY through his views and actions.

The report underlines that by his political activities and work as the Novi Sad City SUP secretary, Dobrivoj Panic was an instrument of the dismissed provincial leadership, who obediently executed the policy which is condemned as bureaucratic and atuonomy-oriented. This was particularly apparent on the occasion when the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo were illegaly denied electricity when they visited on 9 July 1988, in order to hinder them from expressing all the difficulties of life in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. His ideopolitical activities in these positions have also been condemned by the Communists of the SUP in ruma, where he was formerly the deputy secretary of the municipal SUP.

Apart from his unacceptable political activities, the press report continues, his conduct in connection with carrying out work obligations was also reviewed at the party session, where it was stated that he had directly obstructed and impeded the SUP's work through his influence and attitudes.

Compulsory Work Orders for Kosovo Mines Issued

LD1003162989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—In almost all mines in Kosovo, temporary measures and compulsory work orders will be introduced, Nazmi Mustafa, president of the provincial executive council, said today at a press conference. He announced that beginning today, compulsory work orders will be introduced for the employees of the Goles magnesite mine near Lipljan, where work has already been stopped for 2 days. [passage indistinct] work should start in Stari Trg. In the meantime, activities on ideopolitical and work differentiation will start among the Stari Trg miners.

Further Report

LD1103124389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Regarding the fact that a certain number of miners are still refusing to enter pits, preparations are under way for the introduction of compulsory work orders in all Kosovo mines.

Half of the third and first shifts miners of the Albanian nationality in Badovac and Kisnica refused to work last night and this morning. Ajvalija and Novo Brdo of the Trepca strip mine and flotation are working normally.

In expectation of the SFRY Presidency's order concerning the introduction of compulsory work orders, the last preparations are under way in the Trepca lead and zinc mine and the Goles magnesite mine near Lipljan.

Today and tomorrow will be used to explain the nature of that obligation and for political talks with miners. Competent people told TANJUG that talks with miners will be also held in miners' homes. At sessions tomorrow, the municipal assemblies of Lipljan and Titova Mitrovica will take appropriate decisions regarding cadre training for the two mines. Thus, it is expected that production will start to be normalized at the beginning of next week.

TANJUG Updates 11 Mar Strike Situation

LD1103155789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 11 (TANJUG)—In spite of the special measures introduced in Kosovo last last month, following an eight-day strike by ethnic Albanian miners, a number of miners in this Yugoslav province still refuse to go back to work.

Half the number of ethnic Albanian miners on the third and first shifts in the Badovac and Kisnica mines of the Trepca lead and zinc complex refused to work last night and this morning. Pits of the Goles magnesite mine are empty for the third day running. The Stari Trg lead and zinc mine is out of operation since February 20, when its ethnic Albanian miners refused to leave the pits, inaugurating a series of strikes which eight days later led to the imposition of special measures in the province.

Although the Stari Trg miners left the pits on February 28, it was only last night that the mine was said to be technically fully operable. Digging in the Stari Trg mine is to resume on Monday, Kosovo Premier Nazmi Mustafa told newsmen yesterday.

The introduction of work targets is in preparation in all Kosovo mines. The state Presidency is expected to issue an order on this later today.

Today and tomorrow will be used to make it clear to miners that the work targets must be fulfilled in order to normalize production in the province three weeks after the strikes began.

Mining Sector Still Lacks Personnel

LD1203033789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2239 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Work on the third shift of the mines and factories of the Trepca work organization, Kisnica and Novo Brdo, is proceeding normally tonight in the Alvalija mine, in the flotation plants and at the Kisnica-two surface mine. In the other three mines—Badovac, Novo Brdo and the Kisnica pit—production, as it was during the second shift, is minimal because there are far fewer miners in the pits than usual.

In the Novo Brdo mine pit, only 10 out of the 110 miners who should be working are on the job. The situation is similar at Badovac, where there are 17 miners working instead of 40, and in the Kisnica pit, where 25 are working instead of 65. This was stated to TANJUG by Zivorad Miljkovic, president of the Kisnica and Novo Brdo work organization trade union.

Absenteeism Reportedly Increases in Kosovo Mines

LD1203231689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—On the first shift at the Proizvodnja OOUR [basic organization of associated labor], which is part of the Kisnica i Novo Brdo work organization, 175 out of 387 workers worked today.

Of the absent workers, 145 either stayed at home or refused to accept their work duties, while 60 took sick leave. Compared to yesterday, when 20 percent were absent from all three shifts, today there were 37 percent absent from the first shift alone.

However, production was normal this morning in the flotation chambers, the Kisnica two surface mines, and in the Kisnica pit. Mining has been slowed down or even reduced to a bare minimum in the Ajvalija, Badovac, and Novo Brdo mines, where only 40 out of 105 miners entered the pits.

A similar situation exists in Ajvalija, where 18 out of 73 miners are working. On the first shift at these two mines there were 91 absent workers and 27 on sick leave.

Until Friday, production at these mines was running at a very good level, even exceeding a planned target. On Thursday for example, 1,750 tons of ore—1.6 percent above the target—was mined. It was only Friday when production slipped to 1,520 tons, 90 percent of the target. Yesterday, 1,359 tons—80 percent of the target—was mined, said Sefedin Krasnici, technical director at the Kisnica organization. Figures on the number of absentees also confirm that Friday was a turning point. The day before, on Thursday, out of 2,532 workers, only 19 of them were absent, which is a negligible fraction of 0.007 percent, Krasnici explains.

He also points to the fact that in February, at the time of the work stoppage —which was gradually spreading to this collective as well—there were no intranational problems. Out of the 2,450 workers at the Proizvodnja OOUR, 930 are Serbs and Montenegrins. The fact that the surface mines have not encountered any production problems in the last few days should also be welcomed. Nobody has a right not to work. Therefore, we will seriously enforce work discipline. Foreman Djelabin Jusufi and Dobrivoje Aritonovic, a worker at the input tank of the flotation chamber, agreed with this.

Temporary Measures Introduced in Stari Trg Mines

LD1203214489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Titova Mitrovica, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Municipal Assembly of Titova Mitrovica today decided to introduce temporary measures of social protection in the Trepca mines as well as a flotation work organization, following, as it was said at the session, a severe worsening of self-managing relations and an infringment of social interests. Cazim Salja, an economist and the former director of Trepca chemical industry, was appointed president of the temporary organ formed for this work organization. Mining engineers Sreten Nikolic, Nedzad Kelmendi, and Radonja Kostic were appointed members of this organ.

It was decided that the temporary organ in this work organization, as well as those in basic organizations of associated labor, are taking over all of the management execution and control functions, effective today. According to this decision, the temporary measures will be in effect for up to 12 months, but they can be withdrawn earlier if necessary conditions are met.

At this session, attended by Sefcet Jasar, member of the SR of Serbia Presidency, the delegates fully supported the SFRY Presidency's special measures, which are already yielding the first results in improving the political and security situation and the normalization of production. At the session, it was also said that the implementation of the measures should be continued in all the environs in the municpality, as it was noted that blackmail and pressures could not be accepted, nor could the forced resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija. On the contrary, they should be given full support. [passage omitted]

Few at Work 13 Mar

LD1303085189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 13 Mar

[Text] Pristina, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Most Kosovo miners of Albanian nationality were not at their places of work this morning. Most third shift workers in Kisnica i Novo Brdo mines did not work last night, with the exception of maintenance workers. Stari Trg and Goles miners did not come to work this morning, either. It has been learned unofficially that not all preparations for the introduction of compulsory work have been carried out and that this commitment will be completed during the day.

Back-to-Work Orders Ready

LD1303104889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The compulsory work calls will be delivered to Stari Trg miners as early as today. TANJUG has been told this by Semsedin Hoti, president of the Executive Council of the Titova Mitrovica Municipal Assembly. The arrival of the appropriate decision from the provincial executive Council is being awaited, and, on the basis of this decision, the municipal executive council will inform the management of Stari Trg mine to send out compulsory work calls. The calls will be handed out to those on work shifts in accordance with a preestablished plan.

Hoti says every one of the 2,200 workers in the Trepca collective will be able to read in the call paper when, where, and to whom he is to report for work. He will also be advised of the sanctions brought about by his nonarrival at work or by his refusal to accept the call.

The calls are ready, and not a great deal of time will be required to have them dispatched. Teams of couriers will be sent into Srbica, Vucitrn, Podujevo, Zubin Potok and Titova Mitrovica Municipalities, where most Stari Trg miners live.

We assume that production can start in Stari Trg as early as today. The likeliest prospect is that it will happen on the third shift, said Semsedin Hoti, president of the Executive Council of the Titova Mitrovica Municipal Assembly.

Ljipljan Assembly Implements Work Orders

LD1303000689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Lipljan 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Ljipljan Municipal Assembly today introduced compulsory work orders and temporary measures in the Goles mine in Magura near Ljipljan. Compulsory work orders will take effect Monday. The mine, which employs 1,000, has been out of work since 9 March. The miners are not putting forward any political demands; instead, they are calling for talks with their leadership. The proposal to appoint a new temporary board, the third one so far, sparked off a lengthy, occasionally even fierce, discussion among the delegates. They immediately acknowledged a proposal that the new temporary board be comprised of Avni Dusi, deputy provincial secretary for mining, and Bajram Arifi, president of the Higher Magistrate Court of Pristina. However, a number of delegates were opposing the possibility for some members of the former temporary boards to remain in the mine. This was aimed at Saip Ljatifi, and particularly at Elez Zejnulahu.

The temporary measures were introduced in the Goles mine as a result of bad management—something that has not been tackled yet—and the work stoppage. The situation in this collective is one of the potential causes of the workers' absence from work. A number of those employed in Goles stressed at the assembly session that in 1981 there had been no problems in this mine, and it is only recently that intranational divisions have occurred.

Prior to this, the Lipljan Municipal Assembly delegates were addressed by the provincial Presidency member, Nebi Gasi, and the provincial LC Committee member, Vojislav Zajic. They noted that the main task now was for the miners to return to their work and start production. There were talks with the miners yesterday and today at the local communities, aimed at persuading them to return to work. They were also acquainted with the consequences arising from the introduction of compulsory work orders. However, it remains uncertain whether the miners will start working tomorrow.

'Audacity' of Goles Strikers Criticized

LD1103150989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 11 (TANJUG)—The "audacity" of ethnic Albanian miners in Kosovo's Goles magnesite mine to go on strike at the height of the special measures which the state Presidency recently imposed in the province, can only be interpreted as a sort of pulse taking which, "if the probe fails, could signal to other ethnic Albanian workers in Kosovo to do likewise," the daily JEDINSTVO, published in Serbo-Croatian in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, comments on Saturday.

The Goles miners stopped working last Thursday in solidarity with the Stari Trg miners who in late February staged an underground eight-day sit-in against changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia—whose autonomous province Kosovo is in—and for the resignations of three leading Yugoslav-minded Albanian politicians in Kosovo.

The amendments to the 1974 Constitution enable Serbia to ensure state jurisdiction on its entire territory, including the two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina in the North and Kosovo in the South. Under the present Constitution, the provinces have a status equal to that of the six Yugoslav republics.

The Vojvdina Assembly discussed and adopted the amendments on Friday. A session at which the Kosovo Assembly is to do the same has been scheduled for March 24.

The Goles strike is mainly aimed at marking the continuinity of resistance to the constitutional changes in Serbia and bringing pressure to bear on the organs investigating those responsible for organizing the ethnic Albanian demonstrations in Kosovo over the period since last November, writes JEDINSTVO.

New Constitution Renders Serbia 'Equal'

AU0903190189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 89 p 7

[Dragan Radevic commentary: "Equal Serbia"]

[Text] After a 3-year long and hard battle for unity in the SR of Serbia, the adoption of the draft amendments to the Constitution of this hitherto unequal republic has started to remove great historic injustice done Serbia and its people, who invested much in the Yugoslav community, but who lost their republic in peacetime. And this was not only done through the goodwill of others.

Everything that has recently happened in Kosovo, particularly in the last few days, and is still happening, is the result of a grand and perfectly presented scenario of Albanian separatists who are trying to, if not defend what can no longer be defended, at least slow everything down. This is why the miners' strike and other strikes, blackmail, and ultimatums—which demanded that the 1974 Constitution remain intact—are senseless. They are especially senseless because no one wants every wanted to deprive the Albanians in Kosovo—or for that matter any other peoples in our country—of anything that belongs to them.

However, the Trepca miners's strike and their demands are a typical example of how the working class is being manipulated. The mistake does not lie with the miners or any other workers of Albanian nationality, but with their leadership. The leadership did not want to, or it maliciously and incorrectly explained to them the purpose of constitutional changes which were also endorsed by top party and state leaderships.

Everything that has consequently happened in our troublesome province points to something completely different—that Albanians can mobilize themselves very well, although this time it was obviously against unity, togetherness, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. This mobilization also represented great trickery and deceit that were deliberately planted on Albanian people, a chasm of mistrust and hatred directed at the long-lasting pogrom and persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Why do Albanians have the illusion that they will lose a lot with constitutional changes and that their autonomy will be abolished?

This illusion is mainly caused by the long-lasting nationalist and separatist indoctrination of Albanians and the opportunistic and benign attitudes of some old, and until recently, powerful people in the Kosovo political leadership. Distrust and resistance were expressed through deliberate disinformation on the essence of real changes. Resistance culminated in the blackmail demands made by the Trepca miners of Albanian nationality. Therefore, it has been rightly asked whether this request was written by somebody else on their behalf, especially since they demanded the resignations of Ali Sukrija, Rahman Morina, and Husamedin Azemi who, through their principled and communist activities and conduct, clearly said that the long-lasting, perfidious, irredentist-separatist scenario would not and could not be tolerated.

It appears, however, that the clear, open, and correct explanations of the essence and significance of the constitutional changes by Slobodan Milosevic and Stipe Suvar, who visited Kosovo the day before yesterday, do not suit some people and are not to their liking. Truth is the most powerful weapon. Is this not most obvious from the words of Slobodan Milosevic, who, in answering questions from the workers of the Elektroprivreda organization of Oblic in Kosovo, said that "we did not draft two constitutions, one valid for Serbs and the other for Albanians. We drafted only one Constitution and this Constitution refers to all the citizens of the SR of Serbia; it guarantees them equal rights. The provinces have lost what they needed to lose, what was unjust and erroneously put in the 1974 Constitution of the SR of Serbia—that they should act as the tutors and guardians of their republic."

It is indeed an indisputable fact that constitutional breaking of united Serbia took place then, although it started a long time before that. It sounds incredible today that the constitutional sovereignty of the people and the republic was practically eliminated without a single word of explanation to these very same people. This is why the times are gone forever when alien demands could be imposed on a whole nation, demands that were carried out by alienated representatives as the nation's own wish and need.

Life itself has demonstrated that the provisions of the 1974 Constitution have broken unity in Serbia, divided it in the economic sense, and blocked it politically. Is there then any greater and stronger argument for wanting to return to what was lost, and can one, and in whose name disputes this? The final correction of the historic injustice, whether some like it or not, represents a guarantee that the stability of not only Serbia, but of Yugoslavia as well will be strengthened.

Therefore all deceits and accusations—which come from outside, and which have been around for some time—that the Serbian people and their present leadership are unitarian and centralist, and that they allegedly want to create a "great Serbia," are untenable, malicious, and crazy. Can any people, including Serbian people, all be unitarian, centralist, or nationalist?

And just because they are the most numerous and most widely spread nation in the country, the Serbian people have also clearly shown and proved that they care just as much about a joint life with other peoples with which they were historically predestined to live a long time ago. Is it not an indisputable fact that it was actually the Serbian people who generously rejected the London Pact of 1915 which unreservedly offered Serbia a chance to create a great Serbia? The Serbian people, as is well known, chose Yugoslavia as its homeland.

This is why the well-intentioned and well-informed people in our country will not and cannot accept such deceits and malice. In this socialist community, Serbia has never asked for more than what other republics have. Serbia is the only republic that was made the second class republic, that was reduced to Serbia proper, and nothing else. Therefore, it was rightly stated the day before yesterday that those Serbs in the Serbian and Yugoslav leadership who close their eyes to what is happening in Kosovo, because of personal laziness and the protection of armchairs and privileges, are also accountable.

The adoption of the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia in the Serbian Assembly has returned to Serbia its rights and powers on its entire territory. In addition, the provinces are not losing their autonomy in any way. This is why it is not surprising at all that several days ago Stipe Suvar himself said: "I do not understand why so many Albanians in Kosovo think that significant changes are about to take place, since the only things that are being changed are those which will make Serbia a state."

All games great and small, tricks and disinformation, will at the end lose their meaning as well as the battle against the truth. The Constitution has been drafted and nobody can do anything any longer. Those who planted the seed of discord and hatred, caused mistrust and fear among the members of Albanian nation, will have to be called to account and to vacate all their posts in the League of Communists. Judging by everything, there are quite a

number of such people in the province. The denouement of the situation in Kosovo and in connection with Kosovo has started. The time of understanding and cooperation is before us because joint living, prosperity, and progress are an inevitability, for the sake of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

DELO Carries Open Letter to Milosevic, Dolanc

LD1203161389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—"Even though I would like reality to prove me wrong, on the basis of what is happening now and what did happen, I too, argue for the claim that a state coup has taken place, although it must not be said who has committed it. Nevertheless, we can say in somewhat metaphorical language that a meeting-style state coup has taken place, which is not so mild that it is not noticed and felt," Ciril Zlobec writes in "Open Letter Primarily to Slobodan Milosevic," in which he also poses a few questions to Stane Dolanc.

"It [a coup] has not yet happened in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, nor Slovenia, and it is obviously because the peoples there did not want it to happen. Obnoxious Solevic, the tragedy of Kosovo, and the shame of Serbia promise a fraternal intervention; the date has already been set: 25 March in Ljubljana. That meeting will symbolically mark the anniversary of the renowned assessment of the military council—which was spread from Belgrade—that counterrevolution and a special war were happening in Slovenia. That assessment has never been taken back. The state Presidency indirectly supported the assessment, having not distanced itself from it," Zlobec writes.

Zlobec then addresses Stane Dolanc, and notes among other things that Dolanc "would have to try to explain to the public what brought the Presidency to almost equate its policy of conducting state affairs with ideology, demands, and the practice of Belgrade and other Serbian meetings—cynically still called meetings of brotherhood and unity—although they sowed more hostility among Yugoslav nations than any other conflict or misunderstanding up to the present."

"Comrade Milosevic," Zlobec asks, "Are you aware that you are the only ruler in Yugoslavia who can do whatever he wants even outside the Constitution and law, and that the majority of the non-Serbian nation, I repeat, the non- Serbian population, is convinced that you do precisely that?"

"As the party leader of the majority nation, you do not take into account—and you respect even less—equality of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. You said," Zlobec writes, "that the people are always right, but why does this apply only to the chosen people? Do you really believe that only those against whom you are fighting, whom you are replacing, disgracing, and punishing, are guilty of the present intranational hostility, and not also your aggressiveness...? Hearts are already filled with evil, and history will attribute to you, personally, a lot of evil. You will be also guilty for those who vehemently sow evil in your name and under your banner.

"Comrade Milosevic, you have always claimed that you support the economic reform, free market.... But now you calmly watch Serbs, in their fanatical love for you, break up political, cultural, and even economic ties with Slovenia, because Slovenes do not want to topple their leadership and do not even intend to permit Solevic playing with our sovereignty and dignity in Ljubljana."

"I am not one of those who console themselves with the thought that you are an accidental political phenomenon born by our joint Yugoslav political and economic crisis.... I do not believe that you imposed yourself on the Serbian people in the fashion in which you are now trying to rule over all Yugoslavia. "On the contrary," Zlobec says, "Outside Serbia, I am exceptional in my sincere view that no ruler succeeded in having such deep roots in his or her people as you have done. On several occasions, I said that the relation between you and your people is even erotic—the Serbian people love you persistently and passionately. You do not hide your liking for such an erotic relation.... Comrade Milosevic, you are a contemporary Serbian unifier, like some princes and kings before you. The fact that you are the president of the LC makes no difference. A greater Serbian intellectual (in order to avoide confusion, it was not Dobrica Cosic), who is 100 percent loyal to you, more or less explained your phenomenon to me: A hero is anyone who wins in any way whatsoever, even by aggression or crime, only one small mountainous village for his or her people or state; a traitor and incapable person is anyone who loses a small village. Milosevic,"—Zlobec quotes a "Serbian intellectual,"—"restored Vojvodina and Kosovo to Serbia, and again drew Montenegro into the circle of family friends. Who has done so much for his or her people in post-war Yugoslavia? Now you understand why everybody—intellectuals, workers, farmers, bureaucracy, and the Army—support Milosevic?"

"Comrade Milosevic, remain within the sufficiently wide boundaries of the love of your people and do not invade other homes, in which your executors sow hatred of the lowest kind, the dark instinctive political hatred, for which one can expect in return neither love, nor respect, nor reconciliation. Do you desire to be a military leader?" Zlobec asks in his open letter published by the DELO double issue this weekend.

Kosovo Electricity Board Replaces Director

LD1003191689 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The session of the Workers Council of the Kosovo Electricity Board held today in Pristina announced that the general director of that work organization, Ljazer Krasnici, has been under arrest for 10 days. The arrest is related to his involvement in organizing demonstrations last November and strikes of workers of the Albanian

nationality in Kosovo this February. Members of the Kosovo Electricity Board Workers Council dismissed Krasnici from the post of general director today, and elected Bransilav Vujavac as acting general director.

Mikulic Offers Albania Human Rights Talks

LD1203184289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Kopaonik, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Tirana's latest criticism over the measures taken in Kosovo is an expression of Albania's concern over the fact that "Yugoslavia is settling scores with the separatists who are working in the interest of the Albanian leadership." This was stated today by Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

During his news conference today in connection with the 35th world championship for journalist skiers, Branko Mikulic was asked to comment on the latest statements by Albanian officials that the special measures Yugoslavia has taken in Kosovo amount to a settling of accounts with members of the Albanian nationality and that there was a pogrom of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

I understand the Albanian leaders' interest in making such a statement in view of the fact that we are settling scores with the separatists who are working for their interests, Mikulic said.

He recalled the rights which members of the Albanian nationality and members of all other nationalities, as well as Yugoslav nations, have in all the spheres of life in Yugoslavia. In this context the FEC president expressed Yugoslavia's willingness to hold public and open discussions with the representatives of the People's Republic of Albania on human rights in Albania and Yugoslavia.

Criticism Reported From Albania's Ramiz Alia

LD1103171589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Albania's head of state and party of labour leader Ramiz Alia has again accused Yugoslavia of "continuing its persecution of (ethnic) Albanians" and offered it a recipe for solving the crisis in its Kosovo province, the majority of whose population are ethnic Albanians.

Alia was quoted by the national news agency ATA on Saturday as even threatening, in a lengthy speech to yesterday's session of the Albanian Democratic Front leadership, that the "Albanians in Kosovo will not acquiesce" in attempts to curtail the autonomy they gained "by participating in the people's liberation war and under the 1974 Constitution."

At the session, presided over by Nexhmije Hoxha, the widow of the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, Alia started his speech by accusing Belgrade of launching an anti-Albanian campaign, to continue by calling for the Balkans "not to be a powder keg" but an "example of good relations among the peoples."

What Alia omitted to mention in his speech is that a separatist movement of ethnic Albanians, aimed at proclaiming Kosovo a republic, separate it from Yugoslavia and annex it to neighbouring Albania, has been active in this autonomous province within Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia since 1981. About 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have so far migrated from the province under longstanding terror from Albanian chauvinists.

By changes in the 1974 Constitution, Serbia is seeking to regain sovereignty over Kosovo and its other, northern province of Vojvodina, in order to be able to oppose the Albanian separatists more successfully.

TANJUG Corrects Report

LD1203180389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 12 Mar 89

["New Threats (corrected)"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the Albanian Democratic Front Xhoxhi Robo has accused Yugoslavia of "continuing its persecution of (ethnic) Albanians" and offered it a recipe for solving the crisis in its Kosovo Province, the majority of whose population are ethnic Albanians.

Robo was quoted by the national news agency ATA as even threatening, in a lengthy speech at Friday's session of the front leadership, that the "Albanians in Kosovo will not acquiesce" in attempts to curb the autonomy they gained "through participation in the people's liberation war and under the 1974 constitution."

At the session, presided over by Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, Robo started his speech by accusing Belgrade of launching an anti-Albanian campaign, to continue by calling for the Balkans "not to be a powder keg" but an "example of good relations among the peoples."

What Robo omitted to mention is that a separatist movement of ethnic Albanians, aimed at proclaiming Kosovo a republic, separate it from Yugoslavia and annex it to neighbouring Albania, has been active in this autonomous province within Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia since 1981. About 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have so far migrated from the province under longstanding terror from Albanian chauvinists.

By changes in the 1974 Constitution, Serbia is seeking to regain sovereignty over Kosovo and its other, northern province of Vojvodina, in order to be able more successfully to oppose the Albanian separatists.

Belgrade Radio Commentary Denounces Alia

AU1203171889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Dragan Petrovic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Over the last few days we have witnessed a strong anti-Yugoslav campaign from Albania concerning events in Kosovo. This real witchhunt full of incorrect statements, insults, and violations of international norms of behavior was rounded off yesterday by Ramiz Alia at the session of the Democratic Front of Albania. One should perhaps point out that Albania's head of state and party delivered his speech in front of Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and the widow of the late Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha.

Speaking about relations with Yugoslavia, Alia did not fail to repeat his recipe for the solution to the crisis in Kosovo where, as he said, Belgrade is carrying out an anti-Albanian policy.

A similar message was sent from South Africa by Leke I, the son of the late Albanian King Zog. We quote: The deteriorated situation in Kosovo is the direct consequence of Serbian expansionism. End of quote. In his message sent to the United Nations—it is interesting to note that his former country Albania has used the same address for a similar purpose—and to Ramiz Alia, the pretender to the Albanian throne says: If all sides concerned do not take the necessary measures to meet the demands of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, the Balkans will be destabilized, and this could in turn lead to civil war and bloodshed. The result of this would be, (?please note), undesired foreign interference.

What does the pretender to the Albanian throne know about what inviting foreign nonbloc factors to this area means? Or, what is perhaps more likely, he in fact knows what he wants. There are certainly enough reasons for Albania to think about this kind of thinking by somebody who shares its views.

However, Foto Cami, secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Albanian People's Assembly, said: The recent events in Kosovo cannot be ignored by any progressive and democratically minded people in the world.

Foto Cami invited all those who hold national and personal freedoms, rights, and humanity as sacred to intervention. They are all supposed to feel the pain of Kosovo and to demand for an end to this pain immediately.

The official Albanian news agency is also calling for help from all those who want to see peace in the Balkans, an area which has been suffering for a long time, reminding them that this would be a major test for them as lovers of human rights, pluralism, and democracy. Let us not talk about the hypocrisy of the fact that Albania is calling for respect of human rights.

How should one interpret this open invitation to non-Balkan factors to interfere in the relations of the Balkan countries? Is this a revision of the Albanian policy toward the Balkans? How does this correspond to what Albanian officials said at the ministerial meeting in Belgrade on improving cooperation among the Balkan countries and at the meetings in Sofia and Tirana? How should one, after all this, work with Albania on the further development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, the main purpose of which is the creation of a zone of peace and friendship, a zone in which the peoples of the Balkan countries will themselves decide on their fate without interference from anybody, especially from great powers?

Leke I of South Africa, where he lives, knows what kind of fire he is playing with. He does not have anything to lose. But does the Albanian leadership know that? Does Ramiz Alia know what his place would be in Leke's palace? Perhaps he cares more about the joint dream of a Greater Albania than about that.

Finally, let us return to the central theme of the speech made by Albania's first man yesterday. (?Not interfering) in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, Ramiz Alia even made a threat. Let me quote: The Albanians in Kosovo will not acquiesce if their autonomy, which they won through participation in the People's Liberation War and the 1974 Constitution, is curtailed. End of quote.

A representative of the Albanian Foreign Ministry commented on the speech made by Lazar Mojsov in the SFRY Assembly: We categorically reject the accusation of alleged interference by Albania in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, the alleged involvement of the Albanian intelligence service in the recent events, and the assertions that Albanian television was allegedly giving instructions to Kosovo through its regular television programs. He also said: Mojsov created legends with hydra-headed monsters and falsified events and facts in order to hide the truth and in this way divert the attention of domestic and foreign media which has expressed concern over the tragedy in Kosovo. End of quote.

Therefore, everything is now clear. There are no longer any legends, cloaks, hydra-headed monsters, the Albanian intelligence service, Albanian television. Instructions to nationalists, chauvinists, and separatists in Kosovo have come openly from a rostrum in Tirana, from none other than the head of the Albanian state and party, Ramiz Alia.

A representative of the Albanian Foreign Ministry concluded: Albania's policy toward Yugoslavia is not a double-track policy as Mojsov tried to present it.

Finally, let us conclude. We agree with this conclusion. At this moment, Albania's policy toward Yugoslavia is only on a single, blind, and very dangerous track.

'Untrue Assertions' About Albanian Officers

LD0603220289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—TANJUG learns from the Yugoslav Secretariat for National Defence that the POBJEDA and POLITIKA EKSPRES papers have carried untrue assertions that a list was made with the names of ethnic Albanian officers of the Yugoslav People's Army who were suspected of having taken part in the organizing and preparing of Kosovo counter-revolution.

The assertions of the two papers (published in Titograd and Belgrade) that the list includes the names of over one hundred officers and one general were assessed by the Yugoslav Secretariat for National Defence as a "harsh and malicious fabrication that has deceived and upset the public."

The TANJUG journalist was told that the organs in charge were investigating the background of the case and that "the necessary measures will be taken."

Members of Albanian 'Hostile Group' Sentenced

AU0603210289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 12

[S.H. report: "Members of the Marxist-Leninist Movement Sentenced"]

[Text] Pristina [no date as published]—After a 4-day public hearing, the bench of five of the Pristina District Court, which was presided over by Metus Ljatifi, established that 11 members of the illegal hostile group, the so-called Kosovo Marxist-Leninist Movement—which operated from the position of Albanian nationalism and separatism—committed the criminal act punishable according to Article 136, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the SFRY Penal Code, and thus Article 144 of the same Code. In view of that and the established crime, the court pronounced the following prison sentences:

The first accused, Abdulah Ljohaj, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment; Bujar Bajraktari and Ilir Popaj were sentenced to 3 years; Njezim Becaj was sentenced to 8 years; Sabri Ljusi was sentenced to 4 years; Manir Ramadani and Hadif Topali were sentenced to 1 and ½ years; Naser Kuka was sentenced to 4 years; Nazife Dzemajli (who is abroad) was sentenced to 1 year; Gurselj Sulejmani was sentenced to 4 months (because he failed to report criminal acts committed by the others). The juvenile A. A. was ordered to spend 2 years in the juvenile corrective institution.

LCY Secretary Receives Bulgaria's Radev

AU0603210089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 6

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday received Radoslav Radev, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chief editor of the party paper, RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

Preparations Under Way for Nonaligned Summit

LD0603213289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1740 GMT 6 Mar 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, March 6 (TANJUG)—Countries that are most directly engaged in the preparations for the ninth summit of the non-aligned have already reached agreement on a number of issues pertaining to the modernization of the movement, including the question of consensus, Assistant Yugoslav Foreign Minister Kazimir Vidas said today at a joint session of the Croatian party commission and the republican socialist alliance committee for international cooperation.

On the question of consensus, agreement was reached that this form of decision-reaching should be applied in order to avoid one or a group of countries imposing their stands, Vidas said.

Among the countries engaged in the preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit scheduled to take place in Belgrade in September, the decision has prevailed to strengthen the dialogue that has been initiated with countries outside the movement for the more effective resolving of political and economic problems. Discussions are under way on giving broad powers to the chairing country between two summits for the implementation of decisions and for the timely reaction of the non-aligned to international developments, Vidas said.

He stressed that the non-algined were, during the preparations for the summit, already acting in keeping with the changed circumstances, acting with more realism and pragmatism in the direction of the universalisation of the dialogue between superpowers and the democratization of relations.

The new manner of action of the non-aligned is already evident in non-aligned activities at the Vienna CSCE, the non-aligned countries' contribution to the creation of a U.N. Security Council plan for Namibia's independence, in resolving the Iran-Iraq war, the activities of the U.N. Committee for the Middle East and Palestine and in many other instances, he said.

Pristina Radio Director Resigns in Protest

AU0603134789 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 1 Mar 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Director of Radio Pristina Submits Resignation"]

[Text] Milorad Vujovic, director of Radio Pristina, has submitted his resignation to the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

This resignation was also submitted out of disagreement with the resignations submitted by Husamedin Azemi, Rahman Morina, and Ali Sukrija, seasoned fighters for LCY policy.

The explanation of this resignation states, among other things: I must stress that recently, and particularly after the introduction of special measures in Kosovo on the part of the SFRY Presidency, because of the support some individuals on the Albanian-language editorial board enjoy among some provincial officials and legal bodies, it has been impossible to properly influence the enforcement of the clear guidelines on the editorial content of Radio Pristina. I have often informed the programming board of Radio Pristina of this at various meetings and forums of Pristina Radio and Television, and I have the necessary evidence of this, which I will present in more detail later. Milorad Roganovic, president of the Pristina Radio and Television Action Conference, also submitted his resignation to the Pristina LC Communal Committee today. He emphasized that the basic reason for this was the current situation in the province, which has arisen as a result of the bureaucratic and nationalist ambitions of certain former Kosovo leaders, and the fact that there has not even been any attempt at proper political differentiation in this institution following the 1981 counterrevolutionary events, because party sanctions have been taken only against those individuals who were punished by the courts. He did not agree with the program policies of the Albanian-language broadcasts reporting the November demonstrations and the recent Albanian strikes, during which certain individuals, in a very emotional way, encouraged rebellion, discontent, and interethnic hatred in Kosovo.

Bosko Bronjak, deputy chief editor and editor responsible for television; Teodor Brudal, assistant to the director of Pristina Television; and Miladin Jovic, editor responsible for television programs in Serbo-Croatian, also submitted their resignations for personal reasons.

Ivko Jagodic, director of the Working Association for the Administration and Development of Pristina Radio and Television; Jordan Radovanovic, economic assistant to the general directorate, and Cedomir Nikolic, secretary to the cassette production division, also submitted their resignations.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.